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The Iconography of Andreas Vesalius



RESEARCH STUDIES IN MEDICAL HISTORY.

No. 3



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SUPPLEMENT TO THE
ICONOGRAPHY OF ANDREAS VESALIUS,
By M. H. SPIELMANN, F.S.A.
WELLCOME HISTORICAL MEDICAL MUSEUM,
RESEARCH STUDIES IN MEDICAL HISTORY No. 3.
JOHN BALE, SONS & DANIELSSON, LTD.
83-91, Great Titchfield Street, London, W. 1.



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THE
ICONOGRAPHY
OF
ANDREAS VESALIUS

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THE
ICONOGRAPHY
OF
ANDREAS VESALIUS
(ANDRÉ VÉSALE)
ANATOMIST AND PHYSICIAN
1514—1564

PAINTINGS—PICTURES—ENGRAVINGS—ILLUSTRATIONS—SCULPTURE—MEDALS

WITH NOTES, CRITICAL, LITERARY, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

BY

M. H. SPIELMANN, F.S.A.

Chevalier de l'Ordre de Léopold
Officier de l'Ordre de la Couronne de Belgique

LONDON
JOHN BALE, SONS & DANIELSSON, LTD.
83-91, GREAT TITCHFIELD STREET, W.1.

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1925

Let astronomers vaunt their Copernicus, natural philosophers their Galileo and Torricelli, mathematicians their Pascal, geographers their Columbus, I shall always place Vesalius above all their heroes.—Baron A. Portal, *Histoire de l'Anatomie et de la Chirurgie* (1770).

**WELLCOME
COLLECTION**

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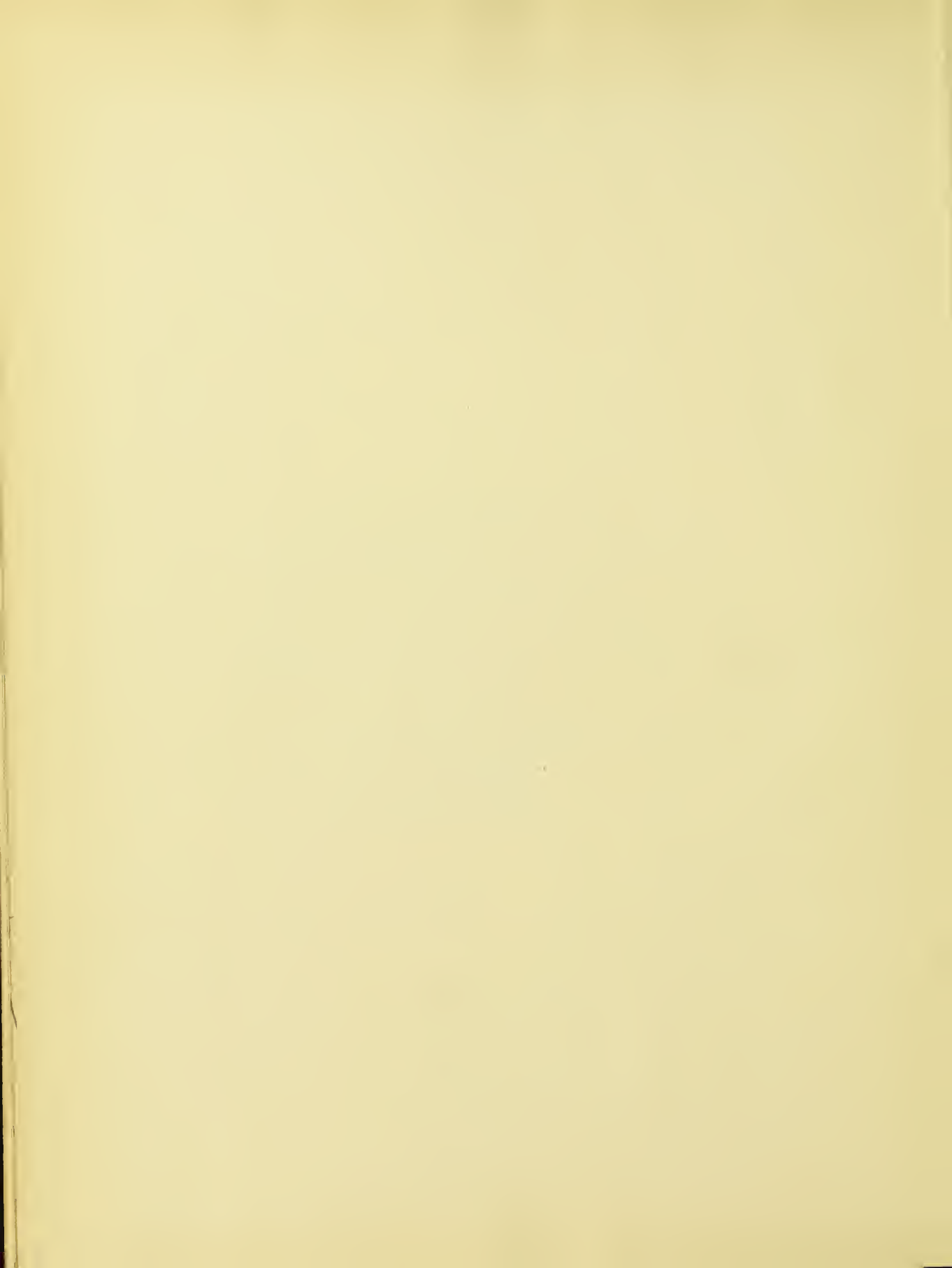
Wellcome Library
for the Society
and Understanding
of Medicine

TO
HIS MAJESTY
THE KING OF THE BELGIANS

THIS WORK COMMEMORATIVE OF
THE GREAT BELGIAN ANATOMIST

Andreas Vesalius

IS
BY THE KING'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION
MOST RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED



FOREWORDS.

I.

AVANT la guerre (c'était en 1912) nous avons projeté de célébrer le quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Vésale. Un Comité s'était constitué à Bruxelles, sous la présidence de notre Bourgmestre Max— la publication d'un "*Liber memorialis*" avait été décidée et déjà plusieurs collaborateurs s'étaient mis à l'œuvre.

Parmi eux nous avons la bonne fortune de compter Mr. M. H. Spielmann qui s'était attaché au chapitre intéressant de "*l'Icouographie vésalienne*."

Le "*Liber memorialis*" devait paraître en décembre 1914, au moment de la célébration solennelle du jubilé du grand anatomiste.

Hélas ! la guerre a empêché la réalisation de notre beau projet.

Mais, de l'effort tenté quelque chose subsiste : la haute compétence et le sens critique très fin de celui qui écrivit pour "*l'Encyclopédie britannique*" l'article si remarqué sur les "*Portraits de Shakespeare*" avaient eu une nouvelle occasion de s'exercer en étudiant les "*portraits de Vésale*," dont les originaux et les copies sont dispersés dans le monde entier.

Le travail poursuivi par M. H. Spielmann avait, pour l'histoire de l'art, une si grande valeur intrinsèque que sa publication s'imposait indépendamment de celle du "*Liber memorialis*" auquel il avait été primitivement destiné.

Apprécier le degré d'authenticité de portraits dont plusieurs sont dus à des peintres éminents, établir—lorsque la chose a été possible—les origines et l'histoire du tableau lui-même, tel a été l'objectif poursuivi par M. H. Spielmann ; il n'a pas négligé d'étendre la même étude à la sculpture, à la gravure et à la numismatique ; à une besogne aussi délicate il a apporté le soin et le scrupule scientifique qui caractérisent sa critique.

Œuvre éminemment désirable que cette recherche de la vérité : de

même que les historiens sérieux ont le devoir de démontrer la fausseté des légendes dont on a coutume de parer la figure des grands hommes sous prétexte de mieux les glorifier, le critique d'art doit dépister la fraude qui appelle à son secours l'image, même quand celle-ci a tous les mérites—sauf celui d'être conforme à la réalité.

Or, "*l'Iconographie vésalienne*" pourrait, sous le rapport de l'inexactitude et de la fantaisie, rivaliser avec la "*Légende dorée*" ou avec les récits les plus effarants de la Vie des Saints.

C'est le sort commun des grands hommes de faire naître la légende en raison de l'impression que leur œuvre produit sur l'imagination des foules. Ce fut le sort de Vésale. Sa renommée est légitime ; elle est consacrée par les siècles, elle n'a cessé de s'accroître depuis quatre cents ans. La vérité de ses descriptions est si grande que si l'on rééditait aujourd'hui son "Anatomie" de 1543 on n'y devrait presque rien changer.

Il paraît convenable que le respect de la vérité, le souci de l'exactitude, soient observés également dans les images qui ont la prétention de reproduire les traits de l'auteur de ce livre immortel.

Et c'est pourquoi, aux félicitations que j'adresse à l'honorable M. H. Spielmann, je tiens à joindre un tout spécial hommage à ceux qui ont compris l'importance de cette œuvre et qui ont concouru à la réaliser.

PAUL HEGER
(Université de Bruxelles).

II.

NOW AND AGAIN there is born into the world a man who, turning his back on the lore of his forefathers, seeks for his information directly from the book of nature. Vesalius was one of these ; he read and translated for his fellows the text of the human body from the original imprint. Minerva, when she emerged from the brain of Jove, was fully armed and fit to take her place in the assembly of the Gods. Human Anatomy came from the brain of Vesalius a completed living thing. Thousands of treatises on Human Anatomy have been written since he produced the first great exemplar. During the past four centuries successive generations of anatomists have added countless facts to his original store, but in one respect all have fallen short of him. He

studied the dead body to learn how the living body moved and had its being. Our modern textbooks, compared with his, are studies of still life; they represent the dead body dismembered on the table of the dissecting room. In *De Corporis Humani Fabrica* of 1543 students of medicine were introduced to dissected human figures, stepping gracefully and displaying as they moved the structures concerned in their every action. Vesalius breathed life into the dead human body; in this art he still stands supreme. This supremacy is his because there collaborated with him a draughtsman of rare skill and imagination—Jan Stephan van Calcar. Fortunately for us Jan Stephan drew not only the dissections but also the Iconoclast who made them.

A desire to know the living features of our greatest men is one of the most praiseworthy of human weaknesses. If we know a book, and are ignorant of the personality of its author, we are as the dove from the ark: there is nowhere a foothold on which our imagination may rest. Andreas Vesalius knew of this human weakness. The portrait of this splendid swashbuckler-anatomist looks out from the frontispiece of his great book. The art of Jan Stephan brings him to us, living and alert, across nearly four hundred years.

In the quality of his work Vesalius is near akin to Shakespeare. Both of these men, in their respective lines of endeavour, held the mirror up to Nature. It is but fitting that their names should be still more closely linked. My friend, Mr. M. H. Spielmann, has applied in days gone by, his ripe and unrivalled scholarship to disentangling the true from the false of all that is known concerning the likeness of the greatest of Englishmen. In this present work he has done the same for the greatest of human anatomists. In revealing the true features of Shakespeare he laid all students of literature under a deep debt. In this work he renders everyone who values the history of Medicine his debtor.

Belgium has the privilege of claiming Vesalius as her son. I am proud to think that it is our country which now pays this deserved tribute to his memory. Of the good deeds which stand to the credit of the Wellcome Historical Museum, the publication of this work is not the least.

ARTHUR KEITH
(Royal College of Surgeons of England).

III.

THE year 1543 is memorable for the appearance in Nuremburg and Basle of two books, one of which altered the course of human thought in regard to the microcosm, the other in regard to man himself. Each of them was written by a Doctor of Medicine. With the *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, Copernicus, at a stroke, dethroned the Aristotelian theory of a fixed and immovable world. With the *De Corporis Humani Fabrica*, Vesalius no less effectually toppled Galen from his dominant seat and thereby opened the way for the modern study of anatomy.

The facts as milestones in human progress are imperishable. The books will be cherished as long as the paper on which they are printed endures. But with the passing of the generation in which they lived the personality of the authors soon fades into obscurity, and so, likewise, their physiognomy becomes merely traditional. We conceive, on the one hand, of a modest and gentle Copernicus who waited thirteen years before publishing his great work, and scarcely lived to see it issued; on the other, we picture the young and aggressive Vesalius rushing into print with his *magnum opus* at 28 years of age, the devil take the consequences.

To appreciate the book properly we must know its author. True, we learn at first hand much of him in, or more often between, the lines of his writings. But we yearn for more than this, and are often helped by the fact that many 16th and 17th century authors had sufficient conceit to preface their works with a portrait. Not so Copernicus, to be sure, but it is true of many; and it is from these often crude prints that we bridge the centuries and gain a bowing acquaintance with the author. Even when, after an author's death, such a portrait was first added by a contemporary hand to his collected works, it often serves as a much prized basis for acquaintanceship. Had it not been for Martin Droeshout's engraving in the First Folio, what manner of a person might we not have conceived Shakespeare to be?

But Vesalius had the vanity to reproduce in four of his works between 1543 and 1555 the same woodcut devised by his friend Jan van Calcar; this he would hardly have done had he not approved of the likeness. The Droeshout portrait and the Stratford bust have

been the basis of the best of all the subsequent representations of the traditional Shakespeare; but Calcar's delineation of Vesalius has done more than this—it has given us the actual man in his prime and at his work.

Scion of a highly distinguished family, a professor in Padua at 23, famous at 28, Court physician to Charles V in his later years, friend of many artists in the heyday of portraiture, Vesalius could scarcely have failed to sit to some of them. So, at least, the many portraits to which his name is attached, scattered in famous European collections, might be accounted for were there not so many of them to arouse our suspicions. It would seem more likely that whenever the "Portraits of Man unknown" turned up, which at all resembled the Vesalius of Calcar's engraving, they were without too much investigation labelled accordingly.

The quatercentenary of the birth of Vesalius was to have been observed with fitting ceremonies in Brussels in December of 1914; and in connection with this celebration the distinguished author of the *Iconography of Shakespeare* had prepared for printing the results of a comprehensive study of all the accredited likenesses of Vesalius which had been painted, engraved, or cut. This celebration could not be held at the specified time; Brussels was otherwise occupied. But now, happily, eleven years later, the results of Mr. Spielmann's studies are to see the light.

In no country will this volume be more welcome than in the United States, a country which even in Vesalius's latter days was nothing more than a wilderness of immeasurable extent; for the America of which he must have heard talk in Court circles at Madrid was the America of recent Spanish conquest which spread from Mexico to the Southern continent. But Vesalius's life shows that medical science then as now knew no bounds, and its historical figures are nowhere more appreciated and honoured than by those who endeavour to emulate them in a part of the world unmapped and unknown in the days when the *Fabrica* was written.

HARVEY CUSHING

(Harvard and Johns Hopkins Universities).

IV.

LE premier congrès de l'Histoire de la Médecine tint ses assises à Anvers en l'an 1920. L'une des communications les plus goûtées au cours de ces joutes scientifiques fut celle de M. Paul Heger. On sait le dévouement éclairé que l'éminent professeur de Bruxelles met au service de l'histoire de notre art. La conférence qu'il nous fit en l'occurrence fut un hymne d'admiration à l'œuvre que M. Marion Spielmann a édifiée en l'honneur d'André Vésale. Mais à la joie d'entendre la parole du maître, au plaisir d'assister au défilé sur l'écran des portraits connus ou discutés de notre illustre ancêtre se mêlait un sentiment de mélancolie profonde. En effet, vu les circonstances tragiques que nous venions de traverser, nous savions que ce beau travail, d'un intérêt si considérable, était condamné aux limbes. Or nous apprenons aujourd'hui son éveil à la lumière. Tous ceux que passionne l'histoire de notre art, et plus particulièrement les membres de la Société Internationale de l'Histoire de la Médecine, salueront avec bonheur l'apparition de cet ouvrage qui constitue un document précieux.

Vésale, rénovateur de l'anatomie, précurseur de Rubens, favorise l'épanouissement complet de la Renaissance ; et si l'on veut, en une nomenclature rapide, passer en revue la médecine des temps anciens à nos jours : Hippocrate, Galien, Avicenne, Chauliac, Vésale, Paracelse, Helmont, Harvey, Rega, Bichat, Pasteur, il convient à écrire Vésale en caractères majuscules.

Sachons gré à M. Henry Wellcome d'illustrer de telle sorte un des épisodes les plus captivants de l'histoire médicale.

TRICOT-ROYER.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

I

THE popularity of Andreas Vesalius* has found expression in many ways. As Professor Dr. Paul Heger has pointed out,† editions, copies, and above all plagiarisms of his Treatise on Anatomy have followed one another in rapid succession; scientific institutions, such as the “Vesalianum” at Bâle and the “Institut Vésale” at Louvain, have been established in his honour and under the patronage of his name. Padua, Bologna, Pisa, and Louvain hold themselves honoured in having received his teaching. Not a University in the world, not a school of medicine, but celebrates Vesalius as the true founder of modern anatomy, while recognizing in him one of the great benefactors of humanity.

Painters, engravers, sculptors, and medallists have often sought to reproduce his features as those of a popular hero. Unhappily, among the multitude of their effigies of the great anatomist there are few of which it may be said that their authenticity or their complete fidelity is beyond dispute. Professor Moritz Roth, the eminent historian of Vesalius, justly remarked on this uncertainty in regard to portraits both painted and engraved. “As to some, one cannot tell that they represent Vesalius.”‡

* The form of the name here adopted—*Andreas Vesalius*—is that which has received universal recognition; in France and Belgium the true name—*André Vésale*—is in general use. The names of few men of eminence, save only Shakespeare and Wynkyn de Worde, perhaps, have been subjected to more numerous variations. As a matter of curiosity it may be noted that among these variations as employed by engravers and publishers beneath their prints, are the following: Vesalius; Vesalivs; Vëssalius; Vessalius; Vessalivs; Vesalio; Versalio; Vésale; Vesale; Vesal; Vezale; etc. (apart from the original forms of the name—Van Wesele, and de Wesel); with Andreas; Andrea; and André—as well as other forms ingeniously elaborated with descriptive appendages, such as Bruxellensis, Archiater, Anatomicus, and the like.

† *Notes sur André Vésale. Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, December, 1903.

‡ Moritz Roth: *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis* (Cap. VI. *Originalporträte Vesals*, p. 446). Berlin, 1892.

Just as the leading events in Vesalius's life have been distorted by the several playwrights who have dramatized them for the stage,* so his person has been the sport of artists who have made pretension to truth in their representations of him. In his picture at Bâle, Vesalius is shown as a man with fair hair; at Munich, with black; at Glasgow, with brown; at Padua, with auburn. Portraits have been accepted which often reveal no point of resemblance. Wherefore so great a confusion has vitiated the subject of the master's iconography that writers, in other respects well equipped, have constantly been betrayed into flagrant error. Some among them have accepted indifferently, and without protest, portraits which are obviously contradictory. Certain writers of authority have attached prodigious importance to insignificant details such as the presence of a small "birth-mark" or mole upon the face, while taking into no account fundamental data such as the shape and

* A figure so romantic as that of Vesalius has naturally found its way into prose Fiction as well as into Art. One of the best-known of the stories is the third of the appalling group of tales known as *Champavert, contes immoraux*, by "Petrus Borel." The tales comprise a series of the most violent, sanguinary, and abominable stories that can well be imagined—stories of rapes, murders, suicides, and bloody fights, which so roused Thackeray's anger that he brought them into his article, published on June 29th, 1833, in the *National Standard* (Volume I, pp. 412 and 413). "Having perused this pretty little book," he says, "I give a summary of it for the benefit of English readers." The summary of the third tale is all too concise. It runs:—

"' Andrea Vesalius,' three adulteries, four murders. The victims are a wife and her three lovers, murdered first, and dissected afterwards, by Andrea Vesalius."

The author of this Grand Guignol effort little knew how much less easy than that it was for Vesalius to secure his subjects. The reader will perhaps remember that the writer, Pierre Borel d'Hauterive (1809—1859), was a literary figure of importance among French novelists until he laid aside his pen to become an Inspector of Colonization.

Fiction has entered largely into the story of how the death of Vesalius came about. The letter written by Hubertus Languetus (Hubert Languet) to his German friend, the physician Kaspar Peucer (dated 1st January, 1565), wherein he repeats the "wonderful" news-gossip which has reached him alleging that Vesalius has conducted a "post-mortem" on a person yet alive with heart beating—has misled many into the belief that the greatest of all anatomists, and the most practised, did not know whether his subject were dead or not—nay more—that he actually proceeded with his dissection after signs of life were unmistakably observed. This has developed until even to-day we find reference works of high authority positively asserting that Vesalius was condemned to death by the Inquisition—although modern research has as positively proved that the Inquisition was not concerned with the matter, supposing the alleged misadventure ever to have happened. We are, therefore, hardly surprised when we find Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Part I, Section I, Sub-Section III) calmly asserting, as if he believed it (when dealing with the Arteries) that "to discern which the better, they say that Vesalius the anatomist was wont to cut up men alive." To such a degree of exaggeration had the reckless gossip, conveyed in the Languet letter, arrived in the year 1621.

structure of the skull. The majority have neglected to take note of essential dissimilarities: an absence of critical authority affecting their judgment in respect alike of painted pictures and portrait engravings.

There was thus an omission to be made good. A careful study of these numerous historical documents was called for in order that their value might be determined. It will be agreed, moreover, that such an inquiry possesses an incidental and extrinsic interest, even apart from a personality such as that of Vesalius, because a number of these portraits being the work of artists of the highest eminence must be regarded from an æsthetic point of view as possessing indisputable value and attractiveness of their own. The names of Titian, Moroni, Tintoretto, Calcar, and Mor, are all involved.

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that a number of the so-called portraits of Vesalius (as of so many other persons of celebrity, both men and women) belong to the category of "fakes" and frauds—the former partial, and the latter entire, fabrications, but all alike impostures which cannot claim to be regarded as simple memorial portraits produced in all innocence of intention. During the last hundred and fifty years the manufacture of these counterfeits—in most cases rather clumsily done—has been greatly on the increase. In the latter half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, an industry sprang up in England which flourishes to this day; the names of the men who occupied a prominent position in the select circle of portrait-forgers are enshrined in the art-history of the period. In many a private collection, and even in public galleries, impudent "mystifications"—frequently of a fairly high order—even now hold their place. Bearing a family likeness, as one must admit, to the personages they represent—being for the most part based upon engravings or known portraits, but often ingeniously varied from their originals—they commonly reveal but a very mediocre talent notwithstanding the virtue of resemblance. An inscription, a date, a simple "*Ætatis suæ . . .*" suffices to satisfy the unwary collector or to justify an announcement of the discovery of "a hitherto unknown portrait" of some person of eminence. It is a cynical page in the history of art too familiar to call for further observation here; yet, like the simpleton on the race-course, the ordinary buyer, even the more sagacious journalist at times, has found it impossible to educate himself out of his incurable credulity. Vesalius is but one of the Famous Men of all time who have shared the attentions of the portrait-forgers. Well-meaning critics, endowed with more zeal than discretion, have impulsively acclaimed various representations of him, and, meeting with ready atten-

tion in the equally ignorant, have planted the seed of tradition which, in certain cases, it is our object in the following pages to uproot.*

It is here shown that there exists but one portrait of Vesalius which is unquestionably a life-portrait—that is to say, the brilliant woodcut which finds its place in the "*Epitome*" and in the great treatise "*De Humani Corporis Fabrica . . .*" published at Bâle by Oporinus, both in 1543. It will be fully considered in the proper place; it is here mentioned as the "portrait-type," the standard or touchstone, by which all others must be tested. For this reason the expression, "the portrait in the '*Fabrica*'" or "the Woodcut" will be found to be often employed.

This portrait-type will be recognized as providing the basic element, more or less conscientiously respected, of the first five painted portraits discussed, with a sixth towards the end of the section: that is to say—the portraits at Louvain (destroyed by the Germans), Bâle, Padua (University), Amsterdam, and Munich. Others are grouped thus: The portrait by Titian in the Pitti Gallery, and that at the Glasgow University attributed to the same Master. The portraits in London (Royal College of Physicians), Paris (Académie de Médecine), and Brussels (Académie royale de Médecine). The portrait by Calcar in the Louvre, and the copies (as we hold them to be) in Oxford (Christ Church), Brighton (formerly), East Winton (Peeblesshire, Scotland), Glasgow (Corporation Art Gallery), and Boston, Mass. Two pictures by Moroni have been admitted only because they have seriously been claimed to represent Vesalius. It has consequently been found advisable to make an attempt at classifying these painted portraits according to what may be considered their natural affinities.

The order of the engravings is as nearly as possible chronological; but, as occasion demands, closely inter-related prints are grouped together.

N.B.—The reader will observe that the terms "*Right*" and "*Left*" signify the right and left of the *spectator*. In those exceptional cases where the rule is departed from the fact is clearly indicated. When "right" and

* A well-known dealer wrote to me concerning one of the "doubtful" portraits referred to in this volume: "Originally it was sold in a London sale-room, but I got it through a dealer. It brought me a good deal of trouble. When a picture is bought privately no guarantee is asked or given; yet all art-critics immediately attack it, and if it is found that a picture for which twenty pounds was given is not worth a thousand, trouble begins. Within the last fifteen years two or three portraits of Vesalius have been sold in London sale-rooms at about twenty pounds apiece. They were all painted on panel, and are well painted; but as to their originality, everyone formed his own opinion, as he was entitled to do."

“left” are applied to details concerning the figure itself, such as “his right eye” or “the left arm,” the expression will of course be accepted in the ordinary sense.

In the case of *Dimensions* of paintings, prints, and sculpture, the height is always given first. These measurements are recorded in (a) inches, and (b) centimetres, for the convenience of all readers—in accordance with a request made to us from abroad.

The diameter of the medals is given in millimetres (“Mill.”).

II

It is desirable that the circumstances attending the production of this Study should be set on record—not on its own account, but because it is the only section of a noteworthy project which has survived the intervention of the Great War.

In the year 1912, in view of the approaching quatercentenary of the birth of Vesalius, Professor Dr. Paul Heger, of the University of Brussels (of which he is now, 1924, and has for some years been President) initiated a movement for the realization of a fitting tribute and memorial, and formulated a plan worthy of being carried into effect. The conception, greeted with general acclamation, won the official approval of the City of Brussels. The happy inspiration, carrying with it the weight of Professor Heger's influence and controlled by the discretion and skill of his leadership, was welcomed on all hands, and the cordial co-operation of all upon whom he called to assist him in his self-imposed task was assured. The patronage was secured of both the Belgian Government (the Minister of Science and Art effectively supporting the movement with the promise of a substantial subsidy—never, alas, destined to be paid or to be demanded) and the City of Brussels; and the eager association and participation of distinguished representatives of the Universities of Brussels, Louvain, Ghent, and Liège, of the Académie royale de Médecine, of the Royal Museums and other Institutions, with an independent group of scholars selected for their competence in special departments of knowledge, were a sufficient guarantee of success. Professor Heger proceeded to form his Committee and to carry into effect the scheme of Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of André Vésale's birth.

The permanent form which this celebration was designed to take was the publication of a *Liber Memorialis* in honour of the Father of Modern Anatomy. A select body of collaborators was organized by Professor

Heger into an Executive Committee ; meetings of the Committee so constituted were held ; the scheme and form of the Book planned by him were approved, and the approval was officially confirmed.

At that time being temporarily resident in Brussels, I was honoured by an invitation to undertake the section of the Iconography of Vesalius. In other hands there were placed for treatment subjects biographical, historical, and scientific, which would place on record the latest judgments, and the most recent discoveries established by exhaustive research among the civic, academic, and other archives not heretofore examined in relation to the anatomist. Louvain and other centres, as well as Brussels, were to be laid under contribution. Reviews of Vesalius, his life-work and his career, in certain directions, informed by the latest knowledge, were to reflect the greatness of the man more clearly and more thoroughly than had before been possible, and were to remind the world of its debt of gratitude for his splendid and fruitful labours in a field neglected or inadequately worked.

My own portion of the work developed in scope and extent beyond expectation. Opportunity enabled me to devote my time to it, encouraged by the active assistance of Professor Heger. In the result this Iconography was completed and set up in type before the other Essays could be dealt with. And then came the War—which necessarily set an instant period to the scheme. That is to say, the undertaking which was to have been ready for publication at the end of 1914 was suspended until the time when—in a few months, it was hoped!—the Committee might resume.

The continuance of the War, however, combined to render hopeless the realization of the undertaking. When the Armistice was signed it was found that printers and machinery were almost wholly lacking ; the price of paper had quintupled ; and, most important factor of all, Belgian thought and energy were rightly concentrated on more urgent and more material affairs. The scholars who had been identified with the work had already turned their activity into more practical channels.* Intellectual resolution had other victories in view, and the indomitable energies of the whole nation were focused on reconstruction in the

* But four of them had already met their death, victims direct or indirect of the War. They are : Professor E. Masoin, Secretary of the Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique ; Monsieur A. J. Wauters ; Monsieur Alphonse de Witte ; and the highly esteemed Professor A. Van Gehuchten, Director of the Institut Vésale (of Anatomy) of the University of Louvain. His house had been destroyed by fire, and his laboratory wrecked, and he withdrew broken-hearted to Cambridge, where a cordial welcome awaited him. He died there immediately afterwards.

present, with little thought for celebration of the past. The honoured shade of Vesalius could afford to wait for a more propitious moment. Moreover, it was felt that an official commemoration proper to 1914 would come oddly in 1919 when enthusiasm was reserved for other purposes, and when Belgium was binding up her wounds.

A general opinion was expressed by lovers of Vesalius in Belgium, in England, and in America that this Iconography should see the light, as by itself it might be regarded—even at this date and in this reduced form—as a reminder of the anniversary which the world of medical science was preparing in 1914 to celebrate. Considered from the point of view of Art this work comprises the names not only of several of the greater of the Old Masters but of engravers also of high repute from the 16th century onwards, and of medallists of the 19th century as well. Subject-pictures, sculpture, drawings, medals, as well as painted portraits, are here dealt with; arguments brought forward in former controversies are considered; claims to authenticity and allegations of imposture are examined. Historical and bibliographical points are treated with some fulness in order that the ground may be adequately covered, from the *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* and the *Epitome* (1543) onwards. The book is therefore something more than a treatise on the portraiture, pure and simple, for cognate and contingent matters have compelled discussion.

There has been available a mass of illustrative material. Professor Heger and I succeeded in collecting between us photographs of all the portraits—except an unimportant few which have been mentioned in the past but which cannot now be identified, of one or two of which all traces have been lost. A number of the principal had never before been photographed. One of the more interesting is that which was at the Louvain University (the University of Vesalius) and was destroyed as an Act of War, along with the building, a few months after our photograph was taken—the only record of this powerful representation, now lost. I have collected also nearly all the engraved portraits of the great Anatomist, beginning with that of 1543 and continuing almost to the present day. It is believed that but few are missing. There are also the “compositions” or subject-pictures, the sculpture—from that at Lemgo (c. 1600) first reported by Dr. Arnold C. Klebs, of Lausanne (Ouchy) and Washington; the contested but highly interesting and important drawing at the University of Glasgow; and all the medals, from those of Merlen of 1804 to that of M. Bonnetain of 1914. All of these may be seen here.

The publication, belated though it is, of this Iconography of Vesalius is a great satisfaction; it is due to the generosity of Mr. Henry S. Wellcome, and the endeavours of Mr. C. J. S. Thompson, M.B.E., Curator of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. That it should be issued under the ægis of this Museum is of happy augury for the success of this undertaking, which was not an easy one.

The book was first written, in French, in order that I might show my appreciation of my friend Professor Heger's invitation; he fully requited the act of friendship by placing at my disposal, with the greatest readiness, all his own photographs and material that could in any way aid me in the work. Thus supported, I have found equal pleasure in putting my book into English in order that it might first appear simultaneously in Great Britain, in Belgium, and also in the United States whose generosity, benevolence, and good-will unbounded, brought comfort and aid in her greatest need to the valiant land from which sprang and spread the ever-shining genius of Vesalius.

M. H. SPIELMANN.

London, 1925.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS inquiry into the subject of the portraits of Vesalius has necessitated application to numerous authorities most likely to possess the desired information—to the directors of various museums, professors of universities, curators of galleries and collections, librarians, and others. To all of them sincere thanks are due and are gratefully tendered for the readiness with which they have responded, and the interest they have shown in the work.

First, and above all, Professor Dr. Paul Heger claims the expression of warmest gratitude for his continuous help, advice, and sympathy. To his influence, too, we are indebted for several of the pictures here reproduced which otherwise might have been inaccessible, and to his generosity for much of the material he had himself collected.

The paramount assistance of Mr. Henry S. Wellcome and the zealous and energetic co-operation of Mr. C. J. S. Thompson (but for whom the work even now would not yet have been published) have already been gratefully acknowledged.

To Dr. Arnold C. Klebs, of Ouchy and Washington, we are beholden not only for having placed at our disposal the resources of his excellent library and for supplying such information as was sought from him—for he has made a special study of Vesalius, regarded from every point of view—but also for the unique photograph which he caused to be taken of the hitherto unrecorded portrait, sculptured in relief, at Lemgo.

Monsieur le Comte d'Arschot, Chef du Cabinet du Roi [des Belges], by his valuable contribution of the family pedigree of the Van Hamme family, with their shields, has rendered possible the final rejection of certain alleged, but unauthoritative, portraits of Vesalius—a signal service for which the reader will be grateful. Monsieur François Courboin, Keeper of the Print Room at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; and Monsieur R. Van Bastelaer, filling a corresponding position in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, readily accorded such assistance as was requested of them in the domain of engraving, and Monsieur Michaux, engraver to the Mint in Brussels (who had certain medals of Vesalius specially struck for me, from the dies in his charge

not otherwise accessible) have done kindly service. The late M. Alphonse de Witte looked over the section of Medals in order to ensure accuracy.

Cordial acknowledgments must also be tendered to the gentlemen here named for many acts of courtesy performed in several countries. *In France*: Professor Gley and Dr. Camus (both of the University of Paris), and the Secretary of Committee of the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier. *In Italy*: Professor Stefani (University of Padua), Signor Moschetti and the Cavaliere L. Fiorentini, of Padua; Professor Albertoni (University of Bologna), Professors Romiti and Aducco (both of the University of Pisa), and Professor Lazzarini (University of Venice). *In Holland*: Professor Van Leersam (University of Leyden) and the Director of the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam. *In Switzerland*: M. Paul Ganz (Keeper of the Museum of Bâle). *In Austria* (before the War): Professor Otho von Fürth (University of Vienna), and Dr. Glück—at that time Chief Director of the Imperial Collections of Vienna. *In America*: Dr. Harvey Cushing (Boston), and Dr. Leroy Crummer (Omaha, Nebraska). *In Great Britain*: Dr. Charles Singer, Litt.D., F.S.A. (London and Oxford), a wise and helpful counsellor; Sir Hercules Read, F.B.A. (formerly Keeper, British and Mediæval Antiquities, British Museum, and until recently President of the Society of Antiquaries); Mr. G. F. Hill, F.B.A. (Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum); Professor William Wright (London Hospital Medical College); Professor Webb-Johnson, D.S.O. (Dean of the Medical School, Middlesex Hospital); Mr. Victor G. Plarr, M.A. (Librarian, Royal College of Surgeons); Sir John Y. W. MacAlister, F.S.A. (Consulting Librarian and Secretary, Royal Society of Medicine); Mr. Fleming (Bedell, Royal College of Physicians); Mr. H. W. Blunt (Librarian, Christ Church, Oxford); Mr. Fingland (University of Glasgow). Thanks are also due to Mr. William Roberts, bibliographer, author, and art recorder; as well as to Mr. Arthur F. Somerset (of Castle Goring, Worthing), Mr. David J. Mackenzie, of Glasgow, Mr. H. B. Devey, and Mr. John Jaffé, of Nice. The late Sir Norman Moore, M.D. (President of the Royal College of Physicians), the late Sir James R. Fergusson, Bart. (of Spitalhaugh, West Linton, Peeblesshire), and the late Mr. H. R. Tedder, F.S.A. (Librarian of the Athenæum Club) responded cordially to my request for assistance.

I am happy to think that the late Sir William Osler, Bart., M.D., F.R.S., Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford, was aware of my deep appreciation of his kindly encouragement and practical help; he wrote

to me from his bed of sickness but five weeks before the end, expressing satisfaction at the conditions of publication to which he had long looked forward.* With very many others I hold him in grateful and affectionate memory. To Professor Harvey Cushing (Harvard Medical School), C.B., M.D., A.M., Sc.D., LL.D., I express my special thanks; for his support and sympathetic action, proceeding in agreement with those of Sir William Osler, have been to me invaluable.

Note.—The services of the following photographers should be acknowledged: Messrs. Alinari (Florence); Anderson (Rome); Annan (Glasgow); Artists Illustrators (London); Paul Becker (Brussels); Blantern (Brussels); Braun (Paris); Bruckmann (Münich); Delecourt (Brussels); B. F. Eilers (Amsterdam); Fingland (Glasgow); Cavaliere L. Fiorentini (Padua); W. Gray (London); Hanfstaengl (formerly of London); Lambert, Weston (Dover); Macbeth (London); Mansell (London); The Medici Society (London); Ohle (Lemgo); Donald Scott (Edinburgh); University Press (Oxford); the official photographers of the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cabinet des Estampes), Paris, as well as those of Pisa, Montpellier, and other centres.

* "If there is money," he wrote, "I have in my eye a fine edition issued by the Clarendon Press."

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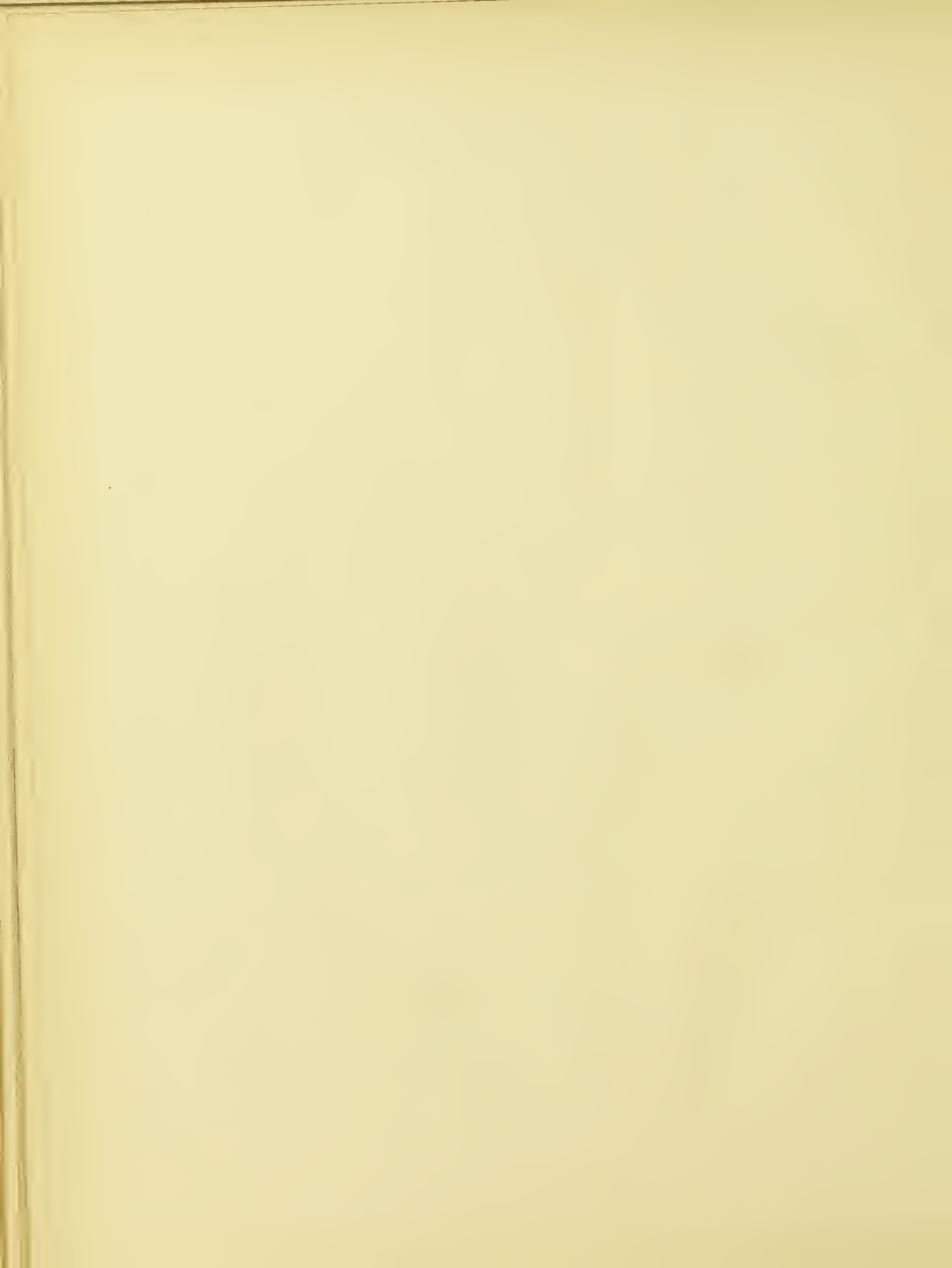
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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ANDREAS VESALIUS

CHAPTER I

I

THE WOODCUT PORTRAIT OF VESALIUS

DRAWN BY JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR FOR THE FIRST EDITION
OF THE *Fabrica*

THIS portrait, cut on wood and bearing the date 1542, was first issued in the great treatise *De Humani Corporis Fabricâ Libri Septem*, which was published for Vesalius at Bâle in the month of June, 1543.* It is to be found in the other volume by Vesalius published in the same year, known as the *Epitome*,† as well as in the *Letter on the employment of the root of Quinquina* by the same author, in 1546.‡ It reappeared in the second edition of the *Fabrica*, in 1555.§ It was reproduced as a copper-plate, villainously ill-done, in the *Epitome* of the *Fabrica*, of 1642,|| and again, this time admirably

* Andreae Vesalii Brvxellensis, Scholae medicorum Patauinae professoris, de Humani corporis fabrica Libri septem. . . . Basileae. (1543.)

† Andreae Vesalii Brvxellensis, Scholae medicorum Patauinae professoris, suorum de Humani corporis fabrica librorum Epitome. . . . Basileae. (1543.)

‡ Andreae Vesalii Brvxellensis, Medici caesarei, epistola rationem modumque propinandi radicis Chynae decocti, quo nuper invictissimus Carolus V Imperator usus est, pertractans ; et præter alia quædam, epistolæ cujusdam ad Jacobum Sylvium sententiam recensens, veritatis ac potissimum humanæ fabricæ studiosis perutilem ; quum qui hactenus in illâ nimium Galeno creditum sit, facile commonstret, Basileæ, ex officinâ Joannis Oporini, Anno salutis humanæ 1546, mense Octobri.

§ Andreae Vesalii Brvxellensis, Invictissimi Caroli V. Imperatoris medici, de Humani corporis fabrica Libri septem. Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum, 1555.

|| Librorum Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis de Humani Corporis Fabrica Epitome : cum annotationibus Nicolai Fontani Amstelredamensis medici. Amstelodami, Apud Ioannem Ianssonium, 1642.

engraved on copper, but unfortunately smartened up, by Wandelaar, in the celebrated edition of the works of Vesalius by Boerhaave and Albinus, in 1725.* Many reproductions of the original have been issued from time to time, none better than the photo-lithograph executed in Rome about the year 1910.†

This woodcut has necessarily been the prototype of numerous paintings and engravings since executed; it is the foundation of the best and sincerest of them. By virtue not only of its unquestioned authority and its authenticity does it claim respectful attention and careful analysis; its striking realism and its style, distinctive of a work of art, invite a searching examination.

Vesalius is represented as a standing three-quarter-length figure, with a vigorous grasp of the left hand on the dissected arm of a dead female body, also in an erect position, of which we are shown but a portion—the shoulder and the right portion of the trunk. In height the corpse exceeds that of the demonstrator, who, by comparison, appears to be a short man. The fact that the head of Vesalius seems, as has often been remarked, relatively over-large, confirms the impression.

The realism of the portrait proclaims itself not only in the attitude and expression of the man, but as well in the accessories and in the decorative arrangement. There is something of the fanciful, it is true, in the *mise-en-scène* of this splendid chamber—in the style of the draped curtain and the Doric pillar of the background, and especially in the rich attire of this anatomist engaged in the rather uncleanly occupation of dissection. These details apart, however, we are greeted with the sincerest realism. With regard to the body—the torso nude to the waist and draped below, and on its shoulder two long locks of hair pendent from the unseen head—Roth drew attention to the fact that it recalls figure 25 of the 5th book of the *Fabrica*.‡

The muscles of the fore-arm and of the lower portion of the arm have been dissected in such a manner as to enable Vesalius to demonstrate one of Galen's anatomical errors: an open scroll set conspicuously on the table is audaciously inscribed with a text drawing attention to the

* *Andræ Vesalii, Invictissimi Caroli V Imperatoris Medici Opera Omnia Anatomica et Chirurgicalia cura Hermanni Boerhaave et Bernhardi Siegfried Albini. Lugduni Batavorum Apud Joannem du Vivie et Joan. et Herm. Verbeek, 1725.*

† One hundred impressions were struck off by the antiquarian booksellers, C. Lang and Co. of Rome, on antique paper.

‡ *Op. cit.* p. 178.

corresponding text in the *Fabrica*.* Thus in the face of all Europe he bearded the oracle in the very forefront of his book.

"The drawing of the dissected muscles," writes Professor Heger, "is admirable. The superficial flexor muscle of the fingers has been turned down in such a way as to lay bare the deep layer of the muscles. Vesalius has his left hand closed upon the upper origin of the muscles, close to the lower insertion of the biceps. In his right hand he holds, between the thumb and the index finger, the fleshy portion of the muscle which has been separated and turned down with its corresponding tendons. The divergent courses of the different tendons at the level of the palm of the hand are rendered to perfection."†

On the table lie a scalpel (*cultellus*) and another dissecting instrument of obsolete form, a sort of articulated surgical hook, or retractor :

* This is the inscription :

*De musculis digilos
mouculibus. Ca. 3o
Quñ superiori libro
quinqz digitorum
ossium cōstructio-
nem p̄rosequer
... a aliam quā*

The text is modified in seven typographical points in the line-engraving by Wandelaar edition of Boerhaave and Albinus, 1725) thus :

*De musculis digilos
mouentibus cap. 43
quum superiori libro
quinque digitorum
ossium constructio-
nem p̄rosequer
longe aliam articuli*

† Professor William Wright, D.Sc., Dean and Professor of Anatomy at the London Hospital Medical College, has most courteously written for me the following extended and valuable technical description, and criticism, of the demonstration here depicted: "The Dissected Arm of a Woman in the portrait of Vesalius.—The dissection is designed to show the muscles and tendons on the flexor aspect. The muscular layers are three in number. The deepest of the three layers is shown *in situ*; it comprises the *Flexor longus pollicis* going to the thumb and the *Flexor profundus digitorum* or *Flexor perforans* going to the terminal phalanges of the fingers. The middle layer has been divided at its origin, the site of which is covered by the fingers of the left hand of Vesalius; the central and longer portion of this middle layer has been reflected towards the fingers and is held between the fingers and thumb of Vesalius's right hand: it is known as the *Flexor sublimis digitorum* or *Flexor perforans*, the perforation of its tendons by the *Flexor perforans* is well displayed. The lateral portions of the middle layer hang down on the table from the bases of the thumb and little finger, and are known respectively as the *Flexor carpi radialis* and the *Flexor carpi ulnaris*. The oblique muscle on which the index, middle, and ring fingers of Vesalius's left hand rest is presumably

Professor William Wright thinks it may perhaps be a razor—(*novacula*)—an instrument to which Vesalius constantly refers in his book. The front edge of the table facing the spectator bears an inscription important for the information it conveys—

AN. ÆT. XXVIII. M.D.XLII

—thanks to which we learn the date of the portrait and of the engraving, as well as the age of Vesalius at the time the portrait was drawn.

Beneath this first inscription we read a second, less evident and more in shadow, Vesalius's so-called "motto":—

OCYVS, IVCVNDE ET TVTO.

—borrowed, as Roth reminds us, from the aphorism of Asclepiades quoted by Aulus Cornelius Celsus: *Asclepiades officium esse medici dicit ut tuto, ut celeriter, ut iucunde curet.** It may well be doubted if this is really a case of "the motto of Vesalius," seeing that it is to be found nowhere else in his writings. Was it not rather a formula adopted by him for the occasion, or an appropriate quotation, a tribute, the credit for which may be allowed to the artist?

Others, as has been said, have already remarked on the very evident lack of proportion between the dimensions of the body of Vesalius and those of the dissected arm in his grasp. This disproportion is manifest and flagrant. Whether it is due to the æsthetic conscience of an artist seeking to avoid too commonplace a parallelism in the position of the

the *Pronator radii teres*, but it is too flat in form, too high in position and too transverse in direction. The most superficial layer is formed by the *Palmaris longus*, the muscle lying on the table just beyond the fingers of Vesalius's right hand; it is inaccurately shown as attached to the tips of the third or terminal phalanges—a mistake attributable probably to the fact that the artist regarded the sheaths of the tendons as the continuation of the tendon of the *Palmaris longus*. No attempt has been made to show the small deep muscles of the palm of the hand or to separate the muscles forming the fleshy eminences of the thumb and little finger. The muscle on the thumb side of the forearm is the *Supinator longus*, and the prominent muscle in the upper arm is the *Biceps*."

It should not, however, be overlooked that (as is recounted on another page) the major object of this cut was not to present a complete dissection but to illustrate a particular point flung out as a defiance of Galen's erroneous teaching at that time universally accepted.

* Celsus (c. 25 B.C.—50 A.D.): *De Medicina*, III, 4 init.—whose work had recently (in 1528) been published in Venice, in *Ædibus Aldi et Andrew Asulanii Soceri*, and had been received with enthusiasm by various classes of serious readers—consisting not only, though mainly, of the medical class. Also, Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 126. As "ocyvs" was a mediæval survival it has been doubted if it could be Vesalius's own.

bodies ; whether it is nothing more than faulty draughtsmanship ; or whether it gives an exact representation of the proportions of Vesalius's person, cannot, of course, be determined. Roth considered that "either the head is too big, or else the arm of Vesalius is too short . . . but the dimensions of this arm accord with the arms of the corpse." This is hardly the case. The arm of Vesalius is in proportion with his body (if not with the dimensions of his head), whence one may deduce that the anatomist was of middle height and thick-set as is common enough among men of his race.*

This brings us to the consideration of an important point—the general form of the head and the inter-relation of its dimensions. It is obviously of the brachycephalic order, the antithesis of the dolichocephalic. In the engraving which we are examining Vesalius is represented as having a round head—it may even be called a spherical head—well defined brachycephalic. The fact is in several respects worthy of attention. In the first place it is of the utmost value as a certain means of identification : wherefore it is a test to which recourse must often be had in the analysis of the numerous portraits, or alleged portraits, of the great anatomist. In the second place, as Professor Sir Arthur Keith has told us, it may have a very definite signification from the psychical point of view.†

It is a wide face, with a high and open forehead, and with unusually emphasized protuberance of the frontal prominences and brows. The temples appear hollow by reason of the projection of the frontal bone and the accentuation of the cheek-bones. The well-defined eyebrows are irregular in their shape ; straight and rising from the nose, they fall sharply at their outer part, forming midway an obtuse or rounded angle, and the curve follows that of the upper eyelid—a peculiarity too marked

* If we may suppose that the head has been exaggerated by the draughtsman we must remember that the earlier engravers provide us with abundant examples of the like fault. A case in point is Martin Droeshout's engraved portrait of Shakespeare—the only authentic graphic portrait of the poet which we possess. The habit of exaggerating the size of the head—as an intentional deformity—is to this day constantly practised by caricaturists and by draughtsmen of the *portrait chargé*.

† In the remarkable anthropological Discourse delivered by Professor Sir Arthur Keith at the Royal Institution of Great Britain and Ireland on the 20th of February, 1914, the speaker admitted the principle of direct relation between the shape of the skull on the one hand, and the development of the brain and of intelligence on the other. For example, the mental characteristics found in Shakespeare (round head, Celtic, bronze age) and Robert Burns (long head, more primitive type, stone age) are typical and constant in sufficient degree to enable us to recognize therein a bio-psychological law.

to escape notice. The orbits, acutely angular on the inner side, frame the large and expressive eyes which direct their gaze to the spectator's left, and beyond. The root and the bridge of the nose are wide; so, too, is its base where the nostrils spring without elegance of form from the full cheeks. The nose is slightly tilted, its tip turned up and inclined strongly forward. The thick-lipped mouth is bordered by a full moustache, horizontal in direction of its growth or training, and beneath the lower lip a tuft with a wide bare patch on either side. The beard, of medium length and thickness, is of the wavy kind and is square-trimmed. The ear is of normal shape; the curly hair covers the head thickly except upon the temples, and in the middle projects over the forehead.

It is, as will be seen, a type essentially Flemish in its kind which widely persists to-day, and may frequently be recognized in Belgium. It would be easy to mention men whose names are known to the world who recall at once the portrait of Vesalius: the poet and publicist, Monsieur Emile Cammaerts, provides a good example.

Above the right eyebrow of Vesalius will be seen a black spot which seems to be intentional on the engraver's part; especially does it appear so if we examine light impressions of the print and see the marks of the tool. It is to this spot that Roth attaches rather exaggerated importance. Speaking of this portrait he says: "The head may be recognized by the concave nose and by a small birth-mark (or wart—" *Muttermal* ") above the right eyebrow. There is no need to suppose that this mark is due to a fault on the part of the engraver It appears also in the engraving of the "frontispiece" [title-page] of the *Fabrica* of 1555."*

Although it must be allowed that the mark may be a birth-mark or a wart, why may it not equally have been "a fault of the engraver" in misinterpreting a touch of the draughtsman's pencil, or the accident of a hard core in the wood too little reduced by the woodcutter's knife? It is a moot point. For it is certainly true that this block was printed, mark and all, in the *Epitome* and *Fabrica* of 1543, and was uncorrected in the *Radix Chynæ* of 1546. At the same time, the mark was not introduced into the little portrait of Vesalius in the dissecting scene in the title-page of the same, the first edition of the *Fabrica* (1543). In this small head a simple line—and that not quite in the same place—takes the place of the *Muttermal*, and falls into the scheme of the other lines composing the modelling of the forehead. In a softened form it

* Roth: *op. cit.*, p. 456.

does reappear—as Roth says—in the *subsequent* dissection-scene of 1555 ; but was it not due to the stupidity of the engraver who, ignoring his copy, turned to the portrait to repeat the mark, whether birth-mark, accident, or mistake ? At the same time—bearing in mind the well-known insistence of Oliver Cromwell and of the Abbé Liszt in respect of their portraits—we cannot set the possibility of a birth-mark wholly on one side. In any case, it is of no fundamental importance either way.

It is worth noting, without according too much importance to the fact, that in not a single one of all the other portraits of Vesalius, painted or engraved, is the mark reproduced ; clearly no one, painter, draughtsman, or engraver, regarded it as having either significance or importance.*

Apart from the concavity of the nose and the typical forms of skull and face, the chief characteristics of this powerful head are mainly to be recognized in the pervading expression and feeling. There are concentrated a penetrating intelligence, a formidable and unbending will, a gay self-reliance and self-confidence, yet without vanity and without affectation, and a sure and smiling energy amply justifying the *jucunde et tuto* inscribed beneath the portrait. The gaze, an eloquent revelation of perspicacity and tenacity, proclaims the man armed for the fight and very confident of victory. Here, indeed, is the spirited

* It is curious that other instances of a "Muttermole"—a wart or mole—should be cited in the literature of the period : one in relation to Vesalius's monarch, Charles-Quint (1519-1556). In Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (? 1589), scene X, the Emperor of Germany asks of the Doctor that the spirits of Alexander and his paramour may be summoned up before him. Faustus accepts the challenge and Mephistopheles does his bidding. Then says the Emperor : "Master Doctor, I heard this lady, while she lived, had a wart or mole in her neck : how shall I know whether it be so or no?"—to which Faustus replies—"Your highness may boldly go and see." The Emperor, having satisfied himself, greatly impressed, exclaims : "Sure these are no spirits, but the true substantial bodies of those two deceased princes !"

The play had followed hard upon the publication, in 1587, of the *Faustbuch*—*A Historia of Dr. Faustus and Emperor Carolus Quintus*, wherein the incident is thus described : "And in order that he might know this" [*i.e.*, whether he were deceived or not] "more surely the Emperor thought to himself, Now I have often heard, that she had at the back of her neck a large mole ; and went up to see whether this was also to be found in this figure ; and accordingly found the mole . . . and after this [she] vanished away again." Sir A. W. Ward, who deals with this matter in his *Old English Drama*, cites similar stories in reference to birth-marks and called-up spirits of the departed in relation to the Ghost of Mary of Burgundy, and that of the Indian "Somevada."

An earlier example than these is one (of several) which John Lyly introduced into his *Euphues* (1579-80) ; for him, like for other writers of his day, the blemish possessed a strange attraction. "Venus" says he, "had hir Mole in hir cheek which made hir more amiable [*i.e.*, lovable], *Helen* hir scarre on hir chinne which *Paris* called *Cos amoris*, the Whetstone of loue." Thus Love sees beauty even in defects.

young Vesalius, keen and resolute, whose immediate destiny it is to overturn the idol Galen.*

It must be recognized that this portrait, *cut* on wood with the knife, and not "engraved"—(for the graver, or burin, had rarely been employed at the period for this section of the engraver's art : it was used, however, for the title-page of the 1555 edition of the *Fabrica*)—deserves to be regarded as one of the finest of its age. It has a high technical value, the more noteworthy for the fact that wood-cutting, during the first half of the 16th century, was, relatively speaking, still in its infancy. Albert Dürer's influence had spread ; and the resources of the art were being developed in many directions ; but we have here technical subtlety evolved far beyond what Dürer had ever dreamed of. It was not mere reproduction but illustration : not a method of craftsmanship, but an art. The intelligence with which the draughtsman has apprehended the exact limitations of his art as well as the full scope of its possibilities must command the admiration of every connoisseur. The illumination is cleverly managed : the attention of the spectator is concentrated on the figure of Vesalius. Although the dead body has great importance in the composition, the artist has laid emphasis on the main part of vital interest to the spectator—the arm and hand which have been dissected with so much care. The realization of light and shadow in Vesalius's face is quite remarkable in a book-illustration of the period. On its right side the figure stands forth light against a dark background ; at its left, the dark hair and the back tell strongly as dark edges against the light. We have here the art of the skilful painter who knew the value of contrasts in illumination and the method of projection, and how to secure them—effects that in the subsequent engravings of Philipp Galle, of Maurer (after Stimmer), and of de Bry (on wood and on copper) have not even been attempted.

To appreciate the immense superiority of this woodcut over the mass

* Roth sees in this portrait more than a likeness : he declares it to be a token. " This portrait," he says, " symbolizes the new-born Spirit of Inquiry." *Op. cit.* p. 179. The impression conveyed by it was admirably expressed by J. de Mersseman : " When we look at this portrait of André Vésale we are first struck by the commanding character of the face—the wide forehead, which proclaims the power of thought ; then the eyes, which by their expression surprise us by their audacious energy. The features reveal a will determined and unflinching. The thick hair is an index of a strong constitution. In a word, every detail of this eminently masculine physiognomy indicates that Providence had endowed the champion of truth with a vigour proportionate to the struggles in store for him, and had united in him the three elements of which genius is composed : intelligence, will, and force." *Album biographique des Belges célèbres : VÉSALE.* Bruxelles. Chabannes, 1845, p. 6

of contemporary work of its own kind, we need but to compare it, almost at random, with other portraits of the 16th century, in the same method, and for their special qualities highly esteemed by the student. Take, for example, the portrait of Martin Luther, the big woodcut in *De Captivitate babylonica ecclesiae*, attributed to Lucas Cranach, of 1520 : technically considered it seems almost archaic. Similarly the portrait of Francesco Marcolini in his *Le Sorti di Francesco Marcolini da forli*, etc. published in Venice in 1540. And finally the portrait of Paracelsus in his *Astronomica et Astrologica opuscula*, published at Cologne in 1567.* These three engravings belong, one of them to the period of the *Fabrica*, and the other two to a score of years before, and a score of years after, its date. They represent the two great schools of wood-cutting, German and Venetian. Their authors were contemporaries of Vesalius. Not one of these woodcuts, as a technical achievement, even approaches the "pictural quality" and the skill which distinguish that in the *Fabrica* and which place it on its pinnacle. In them we feel always the craftsman, never the painter, and but slightly the draughtsman : even Holbein and Dürer surrendered to the conventional limitations of their wood-cutters who dictated, as it were, to the draughtsmen the needs of the somewhat mechanical craft. Calcar, on the other hand, troubled little about his interpreter ; he was the artist and imposed on the block-cutter the duty of submission to *his* needs. He set a problem for resolution ; that problem was the realization of the master's artistic thought—and to-day we still applaud the brilliant success with which the wood-cutter has grappled with his task.

He gives evidence of surprising skill, not only in the simple "lozenges" of his admirably transparent shadows and atmosphere, but in the most expressive lines of the drawing. Even so, we can judge but imperfectly of the finer qualities of this engraving, because we are compelled to rest satisfied with the print, impressions of which are accessible only in the books themselves. The unequal inking, the inequalities in the surface of the rough paper made for type-printing rather than for the "bringing up" of illustrations—admirable as is the "building" of the volumes—are conditions greatly to the disadvantage of the woodcut. Nevertheless, we can imagine what an early proof must have been, pulled on smooth paper ; it could not have failed to delight Calcar when he saw it for the first time. As it presents itself in the ordinary

* *Astronomica et Astrologica opuscula aliquot, jetzt erst in Druck geben und nach d. Vorred verzeichuet.* 1567.

rendering before us, we for our part cannot withhold enthusiastic praise for the mastery revealed in the skilful and vigorous block

This earlier form of cutting a drawing made upon the wood, as has been said, was in due course to give way to that—as is seen in the *Fabrica* title-page of 1555—in which not reproduction but interpretation is the aim, borrowed from the method of the line-engraver. It is obvious that this new style makes a greater demand upon the engraver who thus assumes a personal participation along with the artist, and the exercise of technical originality and of a higher degree of intelligence, though of another sort, is called for. At the same time, in the result, even if it be not the aim—the craftsman is enabled to elude in his translation the mechanical and technical difficulties inherent in the exact reproduction of every touch of the artist's pencil. It was the artist's revolt against his enforced submission to the wood-*engraver* which in England brought about a reversion to the earlier form of the wood-cutter's art, and produced that beautiful school of "Engraving of the [18] '60's" now so highly appraised and so eagerly collected.

The author of this admirable portrait, now universally recognized by competent experts and critics, was Calcar—the painter-draughtsman Jan Stephan van Calcar—he who drew for Vesalius the splendid anatomical plates in the *Feuilles-volantes*, the *Építome* and the *Fabrica*.*

Roth was inclined to believe that Calcar's drawing was executed after a painted portrait. "The name of the artist who painted the picture," he says, "is unknown."† He evidently supposed that such a picture had certainly existed even if all traces of it have been lost. Indeed, the idea that the drawing was executed after a painting has drifted into an article of belief with many, who accept it as if it did not admit of discussion: for them it is *chose jugée*.

I see no reason for accepting the doctrine. Why should not the drawing, done on wood for cutting, be from the same skilled hand that drew the anatomical plates? They were after no painted originals, so far as we know: anyhow, none such is claimed to have existed. Why should not the drawing have been the original? Portrait-engravers

* Yet so popular and generally well-informed a work as *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, in its edition of 1910, still informs the world that "the first anatomical plates, *designed by Titian*, were employed by Vesalius, about 1538." The old tradition dies hard. Reference books in many instances still base themselves upon Moehsen's entry in his book of 1771, in which he refers to the *Fabrica* portrait (1555 edition) as "Titianus Vecelli del Jo. a Calcar incidit."

† Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 446. The reader is referred to my observations on the portrait in the Amsterdam Museum which Dr. Daniëls persuaded himself was the original, and by Calcar.

demanded a drawing made upon the block itself, and, so far as they were concerned, had no need of a picture, nor any interest in one—supposing that such existed. If the draughtsman was a painter, capable of imparting to his drawing a pictorial aspect, the work would gain by it—as is but natural; but the engraver's task would remain the same: it was to cut on the wood, to the best of his ability, the lines and marks indicated in the drawing, fully cognizant of the fact that he had no business with the purely æsthetic qualities of the plate which he was called upon to execute. The method employed by Calcar in the anatomical drawings served as well for the portrait as for the great number of other portraits made to be cut on wood.

On the other hand it has been asserted—a statement set upon very insecure foundations—that Calcar not only drew the portrait, but engraved it with his own hand, “like the anatomical plates.”* This, again, is a misapprehension. Calcar drew the plates; he did not engrave them: the hands, and manner, of two or three different engravers have been identified in them. Such collaboration, indeed, was inevitable. Independently of all proof based upon the technical witness of the plates, judgment is imposed by the simple fact that it was an absolute, physical impossibility for one man to execute them, and to engrave them, within the space of time corresponding to the publications in which they appeared—especially when that man is known to have been a busy painter some of whose pictures are known to have been produced during the same period. This work comprised the execution, and the engraving, of the anatomical drawings of the six *Tabulæ Anatomica* † of 1538, and of the two hundred wood-blocks, large and small, that fill the *Fabrica*. Moreover, no woodcut exists on which Calcar's signature appears. He was never in his own day spoken of as an engraver. There is nothing to show that he was skilled in the art—which is one that demands years of apprenticeship and application and of assiduous practice—nor, in any case, that he was capable of such remarkable work as we see in the *Fabrica* portrait. The opinion expressed by Brulliot in

* See Carl Van Mander: *Het Leven der doorluchtige Schilders*, 1604, and J. W. Moehsen, *Verzeichniss einer Sammlung von Bildnissen*, 1771. Sir William Stirling-Maxwell (1874) accepted the allegation in good faith, but without giving his reasons. Moehsen even affirms that the portrait of the *Fabrica* of 1555 (which this misleading critic forgot is the same as that in the first edition of 1543) was engraved by Calcar after Titian. To this unsubstantial conjecture reference has already been made.

† Spoken of also as “Fugitive Pieces” or “Flying Sheets,” “*Fenilles volantes*,” and “*Fliegende Blätter*.”

his *Dictionnaire des monogrammes**—a standard work, may well be quoted here; [I translate it]: “There are some who will have it that the plates were drawn and engraved by Jan van Calcar, which may be true in respect of the drawings, but we cannot persuade ourselves that Calcar was also the engraver of them, for the cutting is excellent and as it were too skilful to permit us to believe that a great historical and portrait painter such as Calcar was, could have wasted his time with the mechanical work of engraving upon wood; nor is it proved by quotation from Vasari, for he says: ‘*come furono auco gli undici pezzi di carte grandi di notomia che furono fatte da Andrea Vessalio, e disegnate da Giovanni di Calcare Fiamingo, pittore eccellentissimo, [lequali furono poi rittratte in minor foglio, et intagliate in Rome dal Valverde, che scrisse della Notomia dopo il Vessalio]*’”.†

Vesalius himself describes his difficulties with “several artists” [engravers included] of whom he complains that they made him pay exorbitantly for the execution of his wood-blocks. It must be remembered that these blocks comprise not only the execution of the anatomical drawings which Calcar made, but also the landscapes which form the background to each of the figures in the second book of the *Fabrica*. It is therefore plain that the engraving, at least, did not come from a single hand, nor from a single knife. Haeser acknowledges collaboration in his brief remarks upon the portrait which, he says, “proceeds, at all events, from the artist who drew and cut the most important of the anatomical plates.”‡ He here, however, falls into the common error of supposing that the draughtsman was engraver too.

It is interesting to note that these landscapes, twelve in number, are continued as from one to another, in such a manner that if juxtaposed in a certain order the series forms a sort of panorama. It is curious that there should have been made a large design—perhaps it already existed—which lent itself to being cut up, the fragments forming suitable backgrounds for the plates of figures displaying the muscular system. The discovery was made by Dr. Jackschath, who believed he recognized in these drawings “by Titian” a picture by the master

* François Brulliot: *Dictionnaire des monogrammes*, etc. *Nouvelle édition, en trois parties*. Munich, 1832-1834. (The edition of 1817 contains no information relative to either Calcar or Oporinus.)

† Giorgio Vasari: *Storie della Vita de più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori scritte da M. G. Vasari, Pittore e Architetto aretino*. Firenze et Siena, 1568.

‡ See H. Haeser. *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin und der Epidemischen Krankheiten* von Heinrich Haeser. Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1881.

combining the whole;* but unfortunately he does not indicate to what painting he may have been alluding. Roth confirmed the discovery—he had indeed no option in the matter—but curiously enough he seemed unmoved by its artistic importance, and overlooked entirely the significance of its bearing on the lively discussion as to the alleged Titian-Vesalius relations. It has been my own belief that we may owe the landscape drawings on the wood (as engraved) to Domenico Campagnola who, moreover, worked for Titian as landscape draughtsman.† The drawings of Campagnola are well known and would not be attributed to Titian himself as often as they are were his peculiar mannerism in the drawing of landscape, which is sufficiently marked to differentiate him from his Master, more generally recognized. It is likely enough that Calcar, thanks to his wonderful talent for assimilation—the imitation was not of the intentional, unworthy kind—adopted the manner of Campagnola as easily and successfully as that of Titian.

Jackschath gave no indication of the consecutive order in which the plates should be arranged in such manner as to reconstitute the large original composition. Dr. Arnold C. Klebs has been good enough to point it out to me. It is this: Lib. II; Tab. XIV, XIII, XII, XI, X, IX, IV, III, I, II, VI, V,—VIII, VII. The last two form a little independent composition.

II

JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR

1499-1546

JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR‡ was born at Calcar, a small town of the Rhine Province, about seven miles from Cleves, in 1499. [The date 1510 formerly given as his birth-year is no longer accepted.] On leaving the school of Jean de Bruges he proceeded

* See E. Jackschath: *Zu den anatomischen Abbildungen des Vesal*. "Janus," Harlem May, 1904. IX, p. 238.

† According to the text-books, Campagnola, whose dates of birth and death are unknown, was probably born about 1482, in Padua, and "flourished" there in 1543—the year of publication of the *Fabrica*.

‡ Known under various forms of his name: *Johannes, Johanes, or Johannis Stephan or Stephanus, van or de Calcar, —Calcard—Calcker—Kalker—Kalcker or Kalkar*; in Italy *Giovanni da Calcar* and (see Vasari) *Giovanni di Calcare—Calcari, or di Kalker, Fiamingo, or Fiammingo, or Fiamingho*.

in 1536 or 1537 to Venice where he placed himself under Titian whose manner he adopted successfully and without any loss of his own individuality. It was at Venice that Calcar met his countryman Vesalius—like himself a new arrival—whose friendship he quickly won and who became, and remained, one of his warmest admirers. *Insignis nostri saeculi pictor*, says Vesalius in speaking of Calcar, and again *insignis nostræ ætatis pictor*—thus he describes him in the text of the *Tabulæ Anatomicae* in 1538, as well as in the letter to his publisher Oporinus prefixed to the *Fabrica*. Calcar had already made himself known by the wonderful skill with which he imitated the painting of Titian, who, indeed, was generous in his praise; but it will readily be believed that it was not by this achievement that he gained the fullest admiration of Vesalius, but by the amazing art with which he drew from the dissected body before him the anatomical plates of which the first—the *Tabulæ Anatomicae*—were distributed as “fugitive,” or loose, leaves to Vesalius’s students.

Thus in less than two years after their first meeting the friends had produced an unprecedented piece of work. Anatomical plates already existed, of course, such as those of J. de Ketham (1493), of Mundinus (Strassburg edition, 1513), of Laurentius Phryesen (1518), and Jacobus Berengarius de Carpi (1523); but for these illustrations accuracy and truth to nature could scarcely be claimed. We need but to compare them with Calcar’s *Tabulæ* to understand the burst of enthusiasm with which the publication of these plates was received. It was the revelation of a new art; anatomist and draughtsman had understood one another and had worked as one man with one brain and one hand, and this closest of partnerships had produced a faithfulness of rendering, an accuracy of representation of every detail of the structure of the human body, hitherto unapproached.

Gratified as Vesalius must have been at having secured the assistance of so gifted and distinguished an interpreter of his ideas and intentions, he could hardly have been prepared, at the time when his first publications met with such warm approval, for the triumphant success which he was about to win through the collaboration of Calcar. It detracts nothing from the greatness of Vesalius to recognize the share which belongs to the artist who, guided and instructed by the anatomist, drew from nature all the admirable plates in the *Fabrica*. It was to those drawings, rather than to his pictures, that Calcar owed the high position he assumed among the masters of his day. Vasari pays tribute (accompanying it, however, with one of those strange misstatements of details

which so often mar his writings) when he says: "By his [Calcar's] hand—and they must do him honour for all time—were the designs for anatomical studies which the most admirable Andrea Vesalio caused to be engraved on copper [!] and published in his works."* And Rubens, we may remember, had so great an admiration for Calcar that he is said never to have separated from his little "Adoration of the Shepherds" which is now in the Vienna Museum.

Painted portraits by Calcar—portraits, remarkable alike for vigour and character, for the most part attired in black or some dark colour, with a touch of white around the neck, and set against a quiet background—are to be found in certain of the public and semi-public galleries of Europe: in London (National Gallery), Berlin (Kaiser Friedrich Museum), Genoa (Palazzo Balbi), Rome (Palazzo Colonna), Paris (the Louvre), and a few others. Formerly, examples of his paintings were to be seen in Naples. The portrait in the Louvre certainly marks the highest development of Calcar's talent; it is a picture to which careful attention will be paid when in the next chapter the painted portraits and so-called portraits of Vesalius are considered. Several of them, notably those at Amsterdam and at the Royal College of Physicians (together with the pictures at the Vienna Museum, Christ Church, Oxford, the Louvre, the University of Glasgow, the Académie de Médecine at Paris, even the ignoble portrait at the University of Padua) are, or have been, attributed to Calcar. It is as though later generations were always seeking to associate the name of the great anatomist with that of his illustrator whom he had chosen to share in his triumph and in his permanent fame.

Whatever the merit, then, of Calcar's pictures, the artist's masterpiece remains the set of drawings which he made for Vesalius; others equalled, and surpassed, his achievement as a painter—none attained his level as the draughtsman of the portrait and the plates of the *Fabrica*. Perhaps the most surprising element in the whole affair was the completion of the drawings in such a degree of perfection, carried out in so short a time.

After having lived for a few years in Venice, Calcar removed to Naples, where he died in 1546—according to some authorities, "between 1546 and 1550."† No meeting between him and Vesalius after the

* Bohn's edition of Vasari's *Lives*; translation by Mrs. Jonathan Foster. 1852.

† Vasari says: *Conobbi ancora in Napoli, e fù mio amicissimo, l'anno 1545, Giovanni di Calcar Pittore Fiamingo, molto raro, e tanto pratico nella maniera d'Italia, che le sue opere non erano conosciute per mano di Fiamingo. Ma costui morì giované in Napoli, mentre si*

period of their intimate collaboration has been recorded—nor indeed was it possible. It may be said with certainty that they never saw one another again, for while Calcar was painting in Italy Vesalius was developing his career in Belgium, at times in Germany, and later on in Spain; and when he returned to Italy his friend had been dead fourteen years.

Further consideration is given to the work of Calcar in the course of the following pages, especially in the account of the portrait in the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam.*

sperava gran cose di lui : il quale disegnò la sua Notomia al Vessalio. ("I knew also in Naples, and was extremely friendly with, in the year 1545, Giovanni di Calcar, Flemish painter, very skilful, and so well versed in the Italian manner, that his works were not recognized as by the hand of a Fleming. But he died young in Naples, when great things were hoped from him : who drew his Anatomy for Vessalio.")

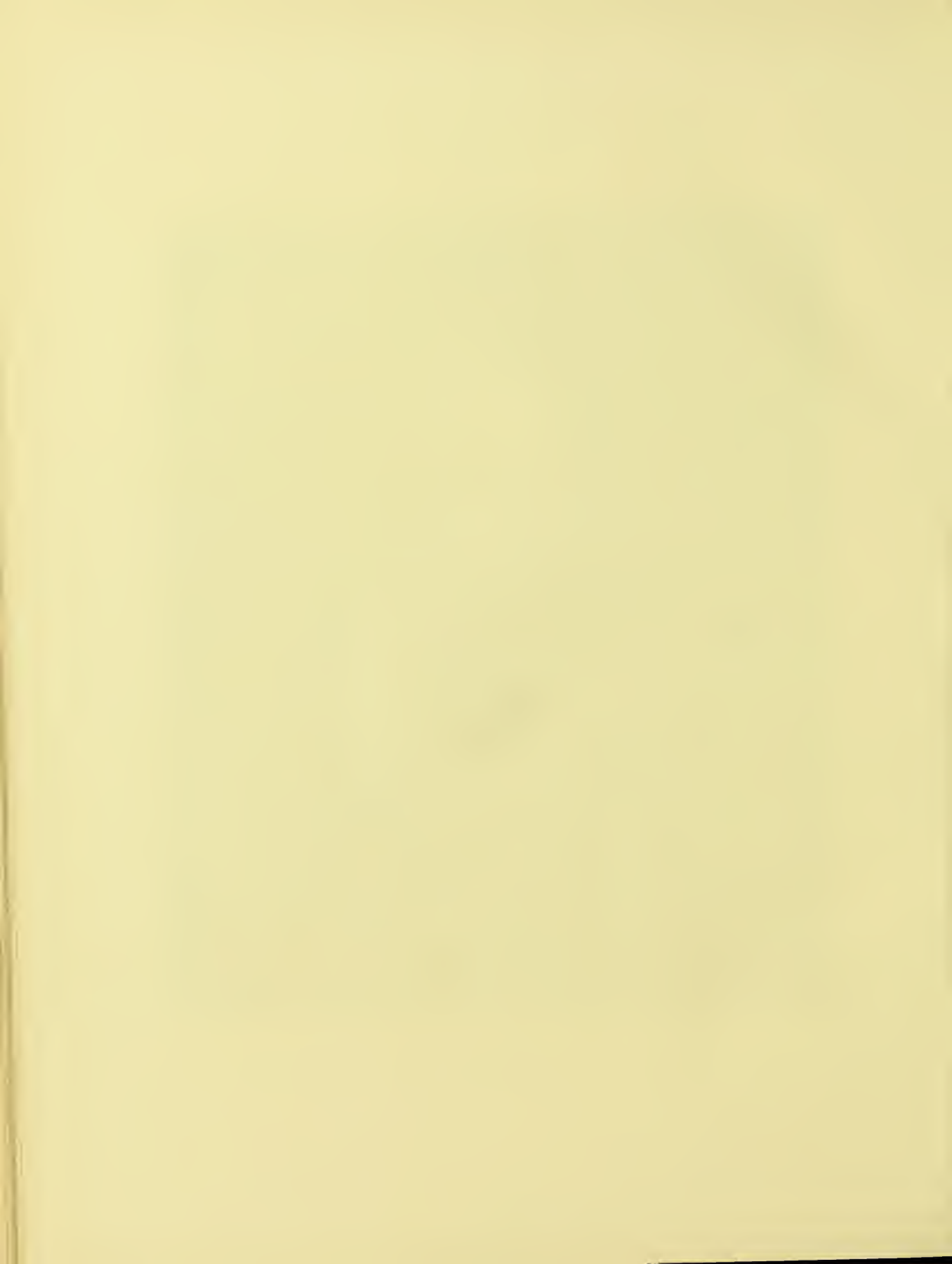
* The reader may be interested in Madame E. van Calcar's *Joh. Stephan Van Calcar Historische Novelle*. Amsterdam, J. C. Loman, 1862.

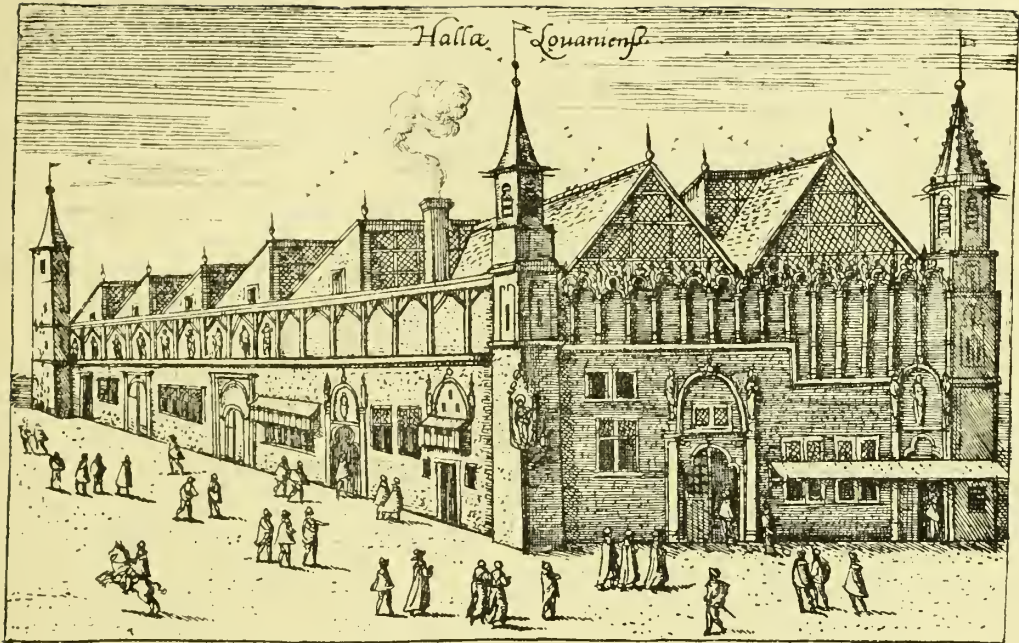


Formerly in the Library of the University

LOUVAIN

Destroyed during the War





The Halles, in the early part of the 16th century, where Vesalius was in attendance at the University.

CHAPTER II PORTRAITS IN OIL

I. LOUVAIN.*

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY. (Destroyed in the War, 1914.)

Painter unknown.

On canvas. Dimensions: 19½ in. by 16¼ in. (48.5 cm. × 41.5 cm.).

Inscription, above the head of the sitter in badly formed letters, of not very ancient date: ANDREAS VESALIVS.

NOTHING whatever is known of this picture's history—whence it came, by whom it was painted, to whom it belonged, how and when it was acquired, or the name of the donor; nor has any suggestion been made as to the artist to whom it may be

* After this chapter was written it became known that this interesting and important work—the memorial of Vesalius in his own University—was destroyed, together with the Library, by an act of war. The picture is here spoken of as if it were still in existence. At the same time was burnt the semi-unique vellum copy of the *Fabrica*.

attributed. The archives of the University are silent as to the history of this unexplained gift, bequest, or purchase. All that can be said is that we have here a commemorative portrait of Vesalius painted by an unnamed artist of considerable skill.

As to preservation, the state of the canvas is deplorable. It is torn and burst through in several places; the pigment is dried up, and the picture, ill-fitted into its frame, is falling into decay which, with skill, might yet have been repaired. In any case we can see enough to estimate its value and to accept it as a recognizable portrait of Vesalius.

It is a bust-piece, in a "false oval"; the sitter is turned three-quarters towards the left, his gaze directed over the right shoulder of the spectator. The nose is too straight and the face too elongated; its contour lacks to a great extent the indentation of the temple and of the cheek-bone—both of them characteristic of the head of Vesalius. Nevertheless, the affinity with the Woodcut of the *Fabrica* suffices to establish the portrait as a serious work and a sincere attempt to represent Vesalius worthily, both in aspect and in spirit.

The artist understood his craft and was a practised portraitist. The painting appears to me to date from about the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century; the manner of the handling, considered from a technical point of view, appears more recent than the general aspect of the work as a whole—it is more or less summary, but broad, and the touch is firm. The modelling proves the artist's skill; the "masses" are well understood, and there is a curious "modernness" about the obvious scheme—of planes and "values"—such as are found in the work of Frans Hals. In all of these respects the picture excels most of the other effigies done after the *Fabrica*. Moreover, there is here much of the character of the original, although the hint of playfulness and humour is wholly wanting. The expression is modified by the irregularity of the eyes: the deviation in the direction of the right eye is overdone, and the look in it is rendered stern and strange. This defect apart, the general expression is one of gravity, and the sentiment is dignified and elevated. The picture sets before us a man of strong and bold understanding, of distinguished air and nobility of manner—perhaps a little too flattered in this respect to be a truthful representation of the Vesalius of the *Fabrica*.

The portrait so nearly resembles the engravings by Andreas Salmincio (1640—"A.S.F.") and by de Boulonois (1682) that it is probable that it may be the original of them; possibly, of course, it may have been inspired by them, or by one of them.

2. BÂLE.

AULA OF THE UNIVERSITY.*

Painter unknown.

On canvas. Dimensions: 24 in. by 20¼ in. (61 cm. × 51.5).

Inscription: VESALIVS. (in top left corner).

This picture forms one of a collection of 84 portraits, all of nearly equal size, and framed in groups, which cover the walls of the great hall. Its history and its source are unknown. According to Professor Dr. Ganz, the Curator of the Bâle Museum, who was good enough to have the picture photographed to be here reproduced—the first time it had been photographed—"it was painted in the 17th century by a master unknown. This copy was probably made at the time of the establishment of the University in the 17th century."

It is obvious that the portrait is not a contemporary one. From what original, then, was it done? In outline, in position, and in general design it resembles the Louvain portrait, but in every other respect it is wholly dissimilar. "Likely enough," added Dr. Ganz in answer to certain criticisms I had offered, "the original was not an oil picture, but an engraving on wood or a drawing—I cannot say." He suggested that the original was the Stimmer-Maurer wood-engraving (1587). That view can hardly be accepted: it seems more likely that it was the copy in the *Microscopium Physiognomie* of Helvetius (1672) (from the big portrait on wood in *Sambucus*, 1574) which served the painter.

If we allow that the picture was based upon an engraving, and not on the Louvain portrait, we might accept several 16th and 17th century engravings on metal or on wood as having afforded material to the indifferent painter for manufacture of this effigy. As is not uncommon among second-class painters of the sort, "improvements" and "embellishments" are introduced with a view to beautifying the sitter or to correcting the little errors, oversights, and unkindnesses of Nature. In this case a handsome Grecian nose (certainly not "straight" as Roth erroneously declares) replaces the tilted and distinctly Flemish feature which is characteristic of the man himself.

This sort of improvement is the mark of the trade. Commercial-

* And not the Aula of the Bâle *Museum*, as Roth has it (p. 447). The Aula is in a building in which all the official museums of the city—artistic and scientific—are united.

traveller-painters have always produced the canvases demanded of them without troubling about either accuracy or authenticity. These qualities, indeed, were evidently not required of them; what was asked for was a symbol of the personage, not a truthful likeness. The more the portrait was ennobled the better it was held to realize the nobility or the greatness of the person represented. All that the painter needed was a more or less authentic—or, rather, a more or less accepted—engraving; and usually the latest was chosen as being the most accessible, although its lateness naturally, and nearly always, implied the most distant from the original. Such is the history of the majority of the innumerable fancy or “traitor” portraits which are the bane of the historian, the biographer, and the iconographer.

In the portrait at Bâle the bust of Vesalius is seen in three-quarter view, turned towards the left, and looking at the spectator. Fair hair and beard—the beard so abundant as to be treated as a compact solid mass—set off the face, which would do honour to the sign-board of a fastidious coiffeur. The white dress suggests a monk's, enlivened by a red cloak thrown over the sitter's right shoulder. The inscription, VESALIVS, in letters of the 18th century, is painted on a black background. The technique, heavy and coarse, is flattered by the photograph. This is apt to be overlooked by those who admire this type of beauty—the Italianized Vesalius, rendered as a sort of exceptionally virile, dignified Apollo who prides himself on being worthy to be hailed as an exquisite in the highest society of Olympus.

Roth remarks on the absence of the birth-mark or wart (*Muttermal*) from above the sitter's right eyebrow. Its presence would certainly have been for him a great proof of authenticity of the picture irrespective of the fact that the painting is of relatively late date and, confessedly, one of a great series of Memorial portraits. But as this “birth”-mark is absent equally from all the other portraits of Vesalius—excepting only that of the *Fabrica**—and as a portrait-painter “out for” the beautiful would certainly have suppressed this little defect, which plays a very insignificant part in this comedy of portraiture, the matter cannot be regarded as having any essential importance.

* But it appears, of course, in the two “Fugitive Sheets” (c. 1590) which—as is described later in the section of Engravings—were copied, as to the heads, from the *Fabrica* portrait.



In the Aula of the University

BÂLE



3. PADUA.

INSTITUTO ANATOMICO OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Painter unknown.

On canvas. Dimensions: 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. by 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (72 cm. × 52 cm.).

Inscription, on the background, above:

ANDREAS VESALIVS BRVXELLENSIS ANAT. PAT.

AB ANNO

USQUE AD A.

1537.

1544.

Padua—which owns two portraits of Vesalius—had long enjoyed universal regard as one of the chief seats of learning in Europe generations before the University and the Anatomist shed glory one upon the other. It will be remembered that it was on his return journey from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to take up the higher professorial post at the University at Padua, in succession to his deceased friend Fallopius, that Vesalius found his death by shipwreck and hardship at the island of Zante. The reputation of Padua was nowhere higher than in England, as English Literature of the 16th century abundantly proves. More than a century and a half before Vesalius journeyed into Italy, and as long after the University was founded, the name of Padua as a cradle of modern poetry had been enshrined in Chaucer's immortal verse. When the poet was in Lombardy on his diplomatic mission—somewhere about 1372—Petrarch was at Arguà close to Padua, and it was doubtless then that Chaucer learned the story of Griselda (through Petrarch's Latin translation of Boccaccio) of which he made such noble use. In the Prologue to "The Clerk's Tale" the Sire Clerk of Oxenforde says, in response to the host's appeal:

"I wol yow telle a tale, which that I
Lerned at *Padowe* of a worthy clerk . . .
Frauncis Petrark, the laureate poete,
Highte this clerk, whos rethoryke sweete
Enlumined al Itaille of poetrye."

The early drama—not so much as a quarter of a century after Vesalius's death—bears witness not only to this pre-eminence but also to the very special characteristic of the academic Latin there spoken and written. This is a peculiarity which has given a good deal of trouble to modern Latinists who have sought to read or translate Vesalius's facile prose so

much admired in his own day. It is a fact that English University scholars did not refrain from poking fun at it.

Thus, in the comedy *The Returne from Pernassus* of 1597, which was played at St. John's College, Cambridge, where Dr. Caius had established the Vesalian tradition nearly fifty years before, the coxcomb Gullio, an ignorant braggart who pretends to amazing scholarship and erudition, and to exquisite taste in poetry (plagiarizing for his purpose lines from Shakespeare and others), in a capital bit of satire defends himself thus against accusation :—

“I woulde proue it upon that carrion of thy witt, and that my lattin was pure lattin, and *such as they speake in Rheims and Padua*. Why it is not the custome in Padua to obserue such base rules as Livie,* Priscian† and such base companions haue sett downe. Wee of the better sorte haue a priueledge to create Lattin like Knighte and so saye Rise vpp Sr phrase” [folios 218 *verso* and 219] “. . . I had in my dayes not unfitly bene likned to Sr Phillip Sidney . . . he had bene at Paris, *I at Padua*.” [And again :] “This rapier I boughte when I sojourned in the *Vniuersitie of Padua*” [folio 213 *verso*].

Every *alumnus* of Padua prided himself upon his academic distinction and defended his peculiar latinity. Every traveller in Italy hastened to visit the city. Thus, in *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, written by Marlowe in 1588, the “scholar accursed” relates how, in company with Mephistopheles, he had visited the greatest universities in Europe : “From thence to Venice, Padua and the rest.” Six years later—in 1594—Robert Greene's *Frier Bacon and frier Bongay* was produced ; in the famous necromantic and conjuring scene, Vandermast, the German magician, brags of his superiority over every other necromancer-philosopher :—

“I have given non plus to the *Paduans*,
To them of Sien, Florence, and Bologna,
Rheims, Louvain, and fair Rotterdam,
Frankfort, Utrecht, [? Paris,] and Orleans”—

thus rendering the first place to Padua before mentioning the rest, at three of which Vesalius had worked.

A last example may be given. George Chapman—than whom no

* T. Livius *Patavinus*. Three years later Philemon Holland published in London (Adam Hislip) *The Romaine Historie written by T. Livius of Padua*. (fo. 1600.)

† “Priscian a little scratcht,” says the pedagogue in *Love's Labour's Lost* (V. i) when discussing with the Curate the education and the affectations of the day.



In the Anatomical Institute of the University
PADUA

(Photographed by Cavaliere L. Fiorentini, Padua)



more accomplished Classic lived in England or was more competent to testify to the reputation of Universities—produced in 1599 his comedy *All Fools*. In Act 1, sc. i, Gostanza, victim of his own worldly-wise cunning, seeks to advise his simple fellow-knight Marc Antonio on the manner of treatment that should be meted out to his sons :—

“ You have a younger son at Padua—
I like his learning well—make him your heir
And let your other walk.”

Shakespeare pays his tribute like the rest. In *The Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1596) the first scene is laid at Padua, where Lucentio has just arrived. Addressing his servant Tramio, he explains the motive of his journey :

“ . . . For the great desire I had
To see faire *Padua*, nurserie of Arts . . .
I am arriu'd . . . And haply institute
A course of Learning and ingenious studies,
And therefore Tramio . . . I haue Pisa left,
And am to Padua come, as he that leaues
A shallow splash, to plunge him in the deepe.”—
(Folio, 1623 ; I. i).

And Padua claims much attention in the play. Signor Benedick, in *Much Ado*, was “of Padua,” and Padua is talked of freely in *The Merchant of Venice*.

The literary student is interested to learn that the University of Padua—out of pure gratitude to Shakespeare for this tribute of his respect—possessed itself for its Library of a copy of the First Folio of his Plays, one of the three copies that exist on the whole Continent of Europe: the others are at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and the [Royal] Library at Berlin.

The origin of the picture we are now considering—its derivation, and the names of the painter and the owner—are alike unascertainable. Documentary evidence in respect to these points is non-existent. It is obvious that the head is imitated from the portrait in the *Fabrica*; but the painter, with an attempt at the cleverness frequently found in the fraud-producer, has introduced intentional departures from the original with the object of imparting an appearance of authenticity to his work. He has accordingly altered the shape and direction of the right eyebrow, making it rise instead of fall at its outer length; an expression almost Mephistophelian is the result. This is noteworthy,

because the eyebrow may safely be taken as an important element in resemblance, for the reason that it rarely changes. But the worst mistake, and that a surprising one even in a blunderer, is that the artist has foolishly added to the strangely conceived coat a lace frill *en jabot* which belongs to a later date, though possibly earlier than the time at which the picture was painted.

Notwithstanding these defects, the canvas has a merit which is lacking in many so-called portraits of Vesalius: it is really intended to represent the anatomist and is inspired by the indisputable woodcut. It is an example of the "memorial portrait," and was produced by some journeyman-painter to commemorate an important event—that is to say the glorious professorship which endured from 1537 until 1544, seven pregnant years in the history of surgery and medicine. It thus may claim the respect due to a serious purpose, even if the thing itself has little claim to esteem.

The Cavaliere L. Fiorentini of Padua, through the intermediary of Professor Stefani (Professor of Physiology in the University), has kindly placed this photograph at our disposal. We are also indebted to Signor Moschetti, the author of *Il Museo civico de Padova* (Padua, 1903)—in which it may be remarked, no mention is made either of Vesalius or of this portrait.

4. AMSTERDAM.

MUNICIPAL MUSEUM (STEDELIJK MUSEUM). (In the Boerhaave Gallery.)

Attributed to JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR (1499-1546).

On panel. Dimensions: 17 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (44·8 cm. × 36·5 cm.).

In July, 1905, Dr. C. E. Daniëls, of Amsterdam* published to the world the existence of a newly-discovered portrait of Vesalius—merely a "presumed" portrait, about which, however, the worthy Doctor entertained no sort of doubt. This panel he placed in the Stedelijk Museum, where it has since been on exhibition.†

Dr. Daniëls, founder of the interesting section of the Museum which

* Dr. Daniëls died in the course of the year 1914.

† See the article "André Vésale," 28 May, 1905 in *L'Art Flamand et Hollandais* (Antwerp) 15 July, 1905. This article also appeared in the Dutch edition *Onze Kunst*. A limited number of copies was issued separately.



In the Stedelijk Museum
(" Medisch-Pharmaceutisch-Museum " Section)
AMSTERDAM



he called the "Historico-medico-pharmaceutic Museum," was greatly impressed by the importance of the gift, and he proceeded to publish everything he knew and everything he could imagine and say on the subject of the "discovery." The *provenance* of the picture was given by Dr. Daniëls as follows :—

"During the greater part of the 19th century this portrait belonged to a doctor of Amsterdam, Dr. A. J. A. Van Nederhasselt, who died at a very advanced age, and who presented it, a short time before his death, to the medical, anatomical, and pharmaceutical section of the Communal or Municipal Museum of Amsterdam. The back of the panel bears this very interesting inscription of the 18th century: 'This original portrait of Dr. Vesalius was presented to us by the heirs of the Bourgmestre Jan Trip, a descendant of the Van Wesel family, A° 1733'." (*Dit origineele portrait Van Dr. VESALIUS is aan ons vereert door de Ertgenamen van den Burgemeester JAN TRIP, die van den Familie VAN WESEL afkomstig was, A° 1733*).

There is no signature to the statement. There is no mention of the name of the heirs. It is not even clear whether the date, 1733, applies to the date of the inscription, or to that of the gift. Nevertheless this anonymous affirmation has been accepted in good faith and without mistrust. The general resemblance, as was thought, to the portrait in the *Fabrica*, seems to have encouraged an easy acceptance of the suggestion of authenticity.

As to the painter of the panel no definite attribution has been accepted, or even proposed. The eminent experts, Dr. A. Bredius and Professor Dr. J. Six would commit themselves no further than to speak of "the sixteenth-century Dutch or Flemish school." Yet Dr. Daniëls, satisfied that the picture was painted by the artist of the *Fabrica* woodcut, unhesitatingly claimed Calcar as the author, little recking into what an *impasse* the conjecture would lead him.

For it must be remembered that Calcar, who was already a pupil of Titian at the presumed time when the picture was produced, was no longer painting in the Netherlandish manner. On the contrary, as is explained further on, Calcar had repudiated and abandoned as far as he was able his national style: or rather he had blended his own with Titian's to the point that he was claimed as belonging to the Italian school. Therefore, to advance the theory that this essentially Flemish, or Dutch, or German picture is by Calcar, who at that very time was recognized as of the Venetian School—and, moreover, that he had

painted it towards the end of his career—is utterly to destroy the theory of the identity of the sitter as soon as it is formulated.

The question, it will be seen, deserves discussion. The arguments to be examined are those put forward by him to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the picture. It is advisable, therefore, to quote Dr. Daniëls's own words. "It cannot be believed," says he, "that Calcar could have engraved this portrait-bust [that of the *Fabrica*] from a portrait in oil executed by another artist, because neither during Vesalius's life-time, nor after his death, was there ever a question about the existence or even a reproduction of such a portrait"* and so forth.

Dr. Daniëls, it is seen, was under the impression that Calcar had *engraved* the woodcut portrait of the *Fabrica*. But it has been demonstrated that if Calcar incontestably drew the portrait he did not himself cut it. This point has already been fully discussed (in Chapter I. under the heading "The Woodcut Portrait of Vesalius") so that no further attention need be given to the Doctor's groundless affirmation. Moreover, the assertion that inasmuch as the Daniëls portrait is by Calcar it must therefore represent Vesalius, savours of sophistry, and in no way helps the theory. If it is the original of the woodcut why do we not find here the essentially pictorial and picturesque elements of it—the dissected arm, the corpse, the doric column, the curtain, the table with the objects upon it? To this question Dr. Daniëls replies with elaborate conjecture: Calcar, having made in 1536 the drawings for the anatomical plates, was on the point of sending them to Vesalius when "he also made a portrait of the master, which he engraved . . . , but one can easily imagine that the young professor himself, or his admirers, preferred, his fame becoming more and more widely spread, another portrait, a more becoming portrait—shall I say?—of a more classic style, without the woman's arm with its muscles laid bare." Thus Calcar was once more invoked—a sort of appeal to Caesar against Caesar.†

The portrait, according to Daniëls, must have been painted in 1546—for he says that Vesalius was then thirty-two years old. But in 1546, and before, Calcar was already living in Naples where, as is known, he died

* In the "Guide" to the Museum what was merely the personal opinion of Dr. Daniëls is given as an established fact. It is inevitable, therefore, that the public is gravely misled by this *ex parte* and unjustifiable statement.

† A rather similar suggestion has been advanced in respect of the pseudo-portrait of Vesalius by Moroni, at Vienna, *q.v.*

about that year. Now, in 1546 Vesalius was at Frankfort or at Ratisbon in the train, as is supposed, of Charles the Fifth. It is certain that he was not at Naples. How, then, could the artist have painted his portrait from life?

It must be observed that this date of 1546 is necessary to the hypothesis of Dr. Daniëls, because according to him it explains the exceptional length and abundance of the beard, which was short four years before. The interval, then, on the authority of the worthy Doctor is to be measured by the beard's length.

Accordingly it is impossible to accept his calm assertion that this "portrait of Vesalius is the oldest and the only authentic one we possess," and that it is "a treasure which was supposed to be lost for more than a century and a half." How could it be "supposed to be lost," seeing that the eminent physician himself insisted more than once on the fact that the portrait was "*unknown* until the present time"?

It will be seen, therefore, that the Doctor's attractive conjectures cannot for a moment be sustained; still less can they establish the picture's authenticity or its identity.

At the same time, Dr. Daniëls was in a measure justified in pointing to certain characteristics, such as those of the exceptional prominence of the frontal bone, and the curly hair and style of its growth on the head. But when he points triumphantly to the reddish colour of the beard as absolute and incontestable proof that the portrait represents no one but Vesalius and was painted from the living man, he brings forward an argument which cuts both ways—for no writer—as he himself affirms—has ever spoken of the reddish beard of Vesalius!

To come to facts. It is obvious that we have here one of the portraits which approach more nearly, in regard to vague resemblance, to the woodcut in the *Fabrica*. As to that there can be no question. Compared with the many painted portraits which are not frankly copies or iconographic *pastiches*, this resemblance affords legitimate ground for argument. Yet it is but general, coincidental, or, still more probably, a mere recurrence of type, such as has already been spoken of.

We find here the same "round" head relatively too large for the body; the same forehead with its accentuated frontal protuberances. The look is keen, with intense concentration, as in the woodcut, without, however, any hint of the joyous animation which is the charm of the original. The eyes are but little smaller. The ear is placed higher than is usual—higher, indeed, than in the woodcut, and besides it is larger. The shape of the nose approximates to that of the original without

being identical ; it is heavier, less concave, and less tilted, and relatively it is shorter and of less projection. The lips are as full ; the expression differs mainly in the severity of its mood and in its comparative lack of intelligence.

Let us turn to the other side of the account. The upper part of the skull is much too low : the cranium is too little of a cannon-ball in effect. The forehead is not so upright, or perpendicular ; the line of its silhouette instead of projecting outwards (the protuberances) as in the Woodcut, curves feebly inwards in the picture. That is to say, that as regards the bony structure—the most important element—these two portraits sharply disagree : they are wholly irreconcilable. Again ; the left eyebrow, instead of falling at the outer corner, following the form of the eye—a fundamental characteristic—rises before slightly drooping, thus leaving an exaggerated space for the upper eyelid. What is perhaps still more remarkable, is that while in the Woodcut the beard starts in narrow growth immediately from the lower lip, leaving a bald patch on either side—in the picture the exact opposite appears. Similarly, in the Woodcut the moustache meets under the nose ; in the painting there is a wide bald patch—a contradiction more difficult to explain than the prodigious length of the beard and the bushy whiskers beside the cheeks. There is importance in the fact of these dissimilarities, for the hair follicles do not change their oblique direction, still less change places *en masse*, according to the age of the individual—in any case, within four years.

The technical aspect of the problem—regarded from the artistic point of view—remains to be considered. In the opinion of some good judges the picture belongs rather to the German than to the Netherlandish School : it suggests the influence of the school of Albrecht Dürer—not so much as to handling and pigment, as to the method of modelling : gazing at it we are reminded of certain followers of Dürer who would have been influenced by such of the master's pictures as the "Head of an Old Man" (1520) or the "Head of a Young Boy with a long beard" (1527) ; while the costume recalls that in the "Portrait of a Man" in the Czernin Gallery in Vienna. It is curious that as a biological type the Vesalius of the *Fabrica* bears a certain resemblance to Dürer's "St. Mark" in the old Pinakothek in Munich. Dürer was no stranger to the Netherlands. His tour, in 1520-1521, in Antwerp, Ghent, and Zeeland, after the coronation of Charles the Fifth, could scarcely have been unproductive of pictures and barren of disciples, or at least of followers. We may remember that his pupil

Bruyn, at the time of whose death Vesalius was forty years old, was himself a native of Wesel. May we infer that this fact was a link between the two men? The conjecture must not be pressed, for it is by no means certain that the de Wesels, or van Wesels, came from the Rhenish town; nor is it worth while to oppose one hypothesis by another.

We are again compelled to ask how—supposing the portrait to represent Vesalius—it is possible to attribute it to the brush of Calcar who, although a Netherlander by birth and of the School by early training, had become if not the “favourite pupil,” as Dr. Daniëls puts it, of Titian, at least the ardent disciple of the great Venetian. Indeed, he was so far one with the Italian school that his pictures have often in former days been accepted as works of Titian himself.

Calcar’s manner at this time is seen in his picture in the Louvre—here figured and soon to be described—which is generally admitted to represent the painter during his Venetian period. Even if this very Italianesque work had been painted six years before that at Amsterdam—as Dr. Daniëls’s argument forced him to maintain—it is practically impossible that the Germanic portrait of the Stedelijk Museum should be by the same hand.*

It will thus be seen why the recognition of this portrait as a work by Calcar, and as a likeness of Vesalius, must be repudiated by every judge of art and by every student of iconography, for the two postulates are incompatible: if the picture is the work of Calcar, it cannot be the portrait of Vesalius; if it is the portrait of Vesalius, it cannot be the work of Calcar. One must choose between the two hypotheses—or else reject them both and so dismiss this fine painting altogether from any connexion with the names of either Vesalius or Calcar. It might be thought to have proceeded, at an earlier date, from Calcar’s brush for there is analogy of manner between it and the picture bequeathed—in 1910 to the National Gallery in London (No. 2597) by Mr. George Salting: “Three Venetians and a Child.”† This is a transitional picture

* It must be borne in mind that Calcar did not remain a “Venetian” to the end. In his later years, after he passed south, he abandoned his Titianesque manner. Joachim von Sandrart (*Academia Artis Pictoriac*, Nuremberg, 1683) declares that not only had several of Calcar’s pictures been attributed to Titian, but that others—when the artist had again changed his style—were accepted as the work of Raphael. He remained true to the Italian school till his death: at which time he was probably contemplating some new allegiance—to the Neapolitan.

† In 1631 this picture was mentioned in the Inventory of the Barberini Palace as being the gift of Pope Urban III. by *Titian*. The attribution was retained when it formed part of the collection in the Sciarra Gallery.

painted at the beginning of Calcar's sojourn in Venice. The three men are painted in the Netherlandish manner and feeling, yet already the Venetian influence is apparent. At the same time the child is wholly Venetian, even Titianesque. The head of the chief man in the picture has great affinity with the Amsterdam portrait of Vesalius. There is the same degree of hardness, the same peculiar drawing of the ear, the eye, and the mouth; especially there is the same handling of the beard. As to this last detail, if it brings the Amsterdam picture nearer to Calcar, it necessarily removes it further from Vesalius.

It would be necessary to argue that this portrait was painted by Calcar before his departure for Venice in 1536, done ten years before the period alleged from a man many years the senior of Vesalius though belonging to his race.

If this examination of Dr. Daniëls's interesting discovery has been rather long-drawn-out, it is because few—certainly not Daniëls himself—appear to have given it serious study. It is claimed as a "new portrait" on insufficient grounds; the claim, indeed, would never have been advanced had ordinary consideration been given to the artistic and chronological sides of the matter. It was therefore advisable, if only out of respect for its apparent importance, to use the method of verification and apply the tests that are always brought into play when a serious newcomer appears in the world of art. This was the more necessary in that, even if the inscription—which after all dates only from the middle of the 18th century—cannot be accepted as certainly authentic, it should not be rejected, any more than agreed to, without sufficient proof.

In conclusion, a few further details concerning this picture should be given. It is painted apparently on an oak panel. The face is turned three-quarters to the right, and the eyes—of a greenish brown—are turned to the spectator's left. The brown tones of the hair tell well against the dark green background; the small locks of it are only visible towards the forehead. The complexion is yellowish, with the carnations of cheeks and lips finely rendered. The eyebrows, unusual in form, and well-defined, are very thin in colour.

The picture has heretofore been exhibited on an easel to the left of the podium in the Room devoted to the relics of Boerhaave, who with Albinus edited Vesalius's work in 1725.

5. MUNICH.

OLD PINAKOTHEK.

By TINTORETTO (JACOPO ROBUSTI. 1518-1594).

On canvas. Dimensions: 29 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. by 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (74 cm. × 63 cm.—formerly given officially as 72 cm. × 62 cm.).

The attribution of this picture to the great Tintoretto is now accepted, but after many doubts and as the result of prolonged discussion. Formerly Bassano was declared the painter; then Jacopo Tintoretto; and later on the credit was transferred to his son Domenico (1562-1637). In 1911, in the new edition of the Pinakothek Catalogue, the ascription was restored to Jacopo, a decision which is hardly likely henceforth to be disturbed. The entry runs as follows: "According to Mündler, after a picture by Bassano. In the Catalogue of 1884,* and latterly, often but incorrectly attributed to Domenico Tintoretto. Van Thode recognized it as the work of Jacopo." Tintoretto, it will be remembered, was for a short time an apprentice of Titian, about the year 1533, and consequently must already have left before Calcar appeared in the Venetian master's studio. Titian looked without favour upon Tintoretto; and it is not known that the two young artists ever met in friendship.

When in the 18th century the picture was contained in the splendid collection of Düsseldorf—which to the dismay and anger of the citizens, after several decades of diplomatic discussion and wrangling, was arbitrarily swallowed up by that of Munich (the gallery itself being destroyed by fire)—there was never any question of Vesalius as the subject of it. It was described thus in Nicolas de Pigage's remarkable catalogue of 1778, *La Galerie Electorale de Düsseldorf, ou catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux par une suite de trente planches*†:—

"Portrait of a sculptor. Plate XXIII, No. 304, 2 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 11 inches.‡ Half-length, life-size. Seated sideways in an arm-chair, the head turned facing, uncovered, and full of fire and genius. The hair is black§ and very short; the beard short and thick. He wears

* In the more recent catalogues the picture appears successively as No. 218 and No. 1127.

† "A Basle, MDCCLXXXVIII." These 30 plates comprise tiny engravings on copper from 365 pictures, executed by Chrétien de Mehel.

‡ This must be "sight size," *i.e.*, of the picture as seen in its frame, not the actual size of the whole canvas on its stretcher.

§ Roth describes the hair and beard as "dark brown."

a thin and pleated ruff. His dress is an olive-coloured doublet. In one hand he holds a pair of compasses; in the other a small model of a roughed-out figure. The background of the picture is a chamber through the open window of which is seen a landscape. This piece, broadly executed, is admirable in draughtsmanship and in colour."

Later on, a strong likeness—in reality a quite fortuitous resemblance—was imagined to exist between this picture and *the little head* in



the large woodcut representing the anatomical demonstration in the University of Padua, which forms the title-page of the first edition of the *Fabrica*, and forthwith, with the inexplicable recklessness common in such cases, the picture was boldly and positively pronounced to be a portrait of Vesalius; and the dictum was accepted by the gallery authorities. In the catalogue of 1888 we read the entry: "Portrait

of the Anatomist Andreas Vesalius, seated in an arm-chair. In one hand he holds a pair of compasses, in the other a torso of a crucifix . . . Perhaps by Domenico Tintoretto. (See Crowe and Cavalcaselle)." Only in the last editions, of 1911 and those that followed, is there a sane return to the original title "Portrait of a Sculptor," with the frank addition: "formerly falsely considered to be a portrait of the anatomist Vesalius." Mr. J. B. Stoughton-Holborn, in his critical biography *Tintoretto* (1903), entitles the picture "Portrait of an Artist."

In accepting with such *insouciance* this picture as the portrait of Vesalius the persons responsible for the indiscretion had considered merely the very superficial likeness to the little head in the *Fabrica*, and moreover quite forgot to compare it with the Woodcut "standard portrait," the indisputable drawing in the same volume which had been done from life: an indefensible oversight. Naturally, in the anatomy-lesson figured on the 1543 Title-page the artist had made no special effort to reproduce with absolute exactitude the features of Vesalius in so tiny a head amid a crowd of others. The truth had already been given in the larger plate; here, the general scene was the main object of the artist's endeavour. Yet the chance, the slight resemblance—such as there is—was seized upon to set up a declaration of authenticity on behalf of the Munich picture.

As Dr. Daniëls of Amsterdam declared—(his judgment could be clear enough when turned from his own picture)—this portrait by Tintoretto obviously represents a man of Southern type without anything



By TINTORETTO
In the Old Pinakothek
MUNICH

of the Netherlander about him. Ridolfi* did not hesitate to affirm that he had discovered the name of the real man who had sat for the picture, declaring that he was none other than Ascanio, the celebrated sculptor in ivory, known as Ascanio "*dai Christi*."

Let us look further into the claim. To begin with—is there solid ground for the belief that the sitter is an anatomist at all? Not the slightest. Why should an anatomist be painted compasses in hand? In portraits by the Old Masters we not infrequently find compasses placed in the hand of an astronomer (as in the portrait by Ferdinand Bol in the Albert Bankes Collection), or of a mathematician, an astrologer, a cosmographer (as, for example, in the portrait of Petrus Apianus), of an architect (as in the portrait by Lotto in the Berlin Museum—No. 153), and of other men professing the exact sciences and professions. We meet the compasses, too, as one of the most prominent objects in Albert Dürer's masterpiece, the engraving of *Melancholia* (1514). We meet it in the portrait of the Venetian school—(formerly thought to be by Sansovino—perhaps by Giorgione himself—in the Marquess of Lansdowne's Collection): it is a similar portrait showing a collector holding a pair of compasses in one hand and a mutilated statuette in the other.† We meet it, too, in the "Portrait of an Architect," by an unknown painter of the 16th century Lombard school in the Museum of Grenoble, and in the little picture by Gerard Dou—a late example—in the Brunswick museum, known as "The Astronomer." But in no unchallenged portrait of an anatomist, as far as I am aware, have compasses ever been introduced as symbolic of his science: for human anatomy is not primarily an affair of dimensions or of comparative calculation. The instrument which artist-engravers have preferred to place as a symbol in Vesalius's hand is the *hamulus*, a two-pronged retractor; in other representations of anatomists, we see the knife or scalpel; but never the compasses, which therefore—in the picture before us—is evidence not *pro* but *contra* the theory advanced on its behalf.

Now, the compasses are an instrument in constant use by the

* See Carlo Ridolfi: *Le Maraviglie dell' Arte* (II. 267). Venice, 1648.

† It should be stated, however, that M. Salomon Reinach in his study on portraits incorrectly called "of Sculptors" (1916) in speaking of Lord Lansdowne's picture, argues that it is probable that an anatomist would wish "to verify or discover in a work of art what the ancients called 'the canon.'" But why? And why introduce it into a portrait? The suggestion appears too far-fetched to be tenable for a moment.

sculptor; for which reason those who have declared in favour of "Portrait of a Sculptor" start with an advantage. The object held by the sitter in our picture strengthens the contention, and on that account has given occasion for a prodigious amount of discussion. It has been described as "a torso," an expression not wholly accurate, yet, in my opinion, it is fundamentally correct. Dr. Daniëls had his own peculiar explanation: he called it a *femur*. As a femur—unless it is supposed to be typical of an advanced stage of arthritic rheumatism—it is of a singular shape indeed. And if it be such, why is the bone broken off? and if it be broken off, why is this sculptor, or surgeon, or anatomist, or what-not, measuring it with a pair of compasses? We are asked to believe that it is a femur as "imagined by an artist" and not by an anatomist—as if the anatomist-sitter were not at hand to instruct the painter as to its proper delineation. Moreover, is it conceivable that an artist so precise and realistic as he who painted this portrait would have been content to represent this very important object in his composition in a loose, fanciful, and inaccurate spirit?

It may safely be concluded that the portrait represents a sculptor who is at work "roughing out" his ivory statuette and who, as every such artist would do, is using his compasses to measure off dimensions from his wax model. There can be little doubt that a figure of Christ is here intended. The head will be swathed in drapery—as we sometimes see; the traditional drapery already encircles the loins—its folds are carefully defined. There are necessarily no arms as yet, for these would be extended for a crucifix, and, as is invariably the case in such a work, the arms would have to be separately carved, to be ultimately joined on, as no tusk, of course, permits of such a design being carried out in one piece. Similarly, the lower limbs will in due course be carved and affixed under the cover of the drapery.

There is nothing unusual in this. Pictures of sitters—not always sculptors, for they sometimes represent connoisseurs and collectors—with a torso or a statuette or some other plastic fragment in their hands are numerous enough. I am not thinking of portraits such as Ribera's "Blind Sculptor," or "The Sculptor Martinez Montanes" of Velasquez, or the "Duquesnoy" of Van Dyck—pictures in which we see, under the sitter's hand, unfinished life-size models; yet even these help the argument. But consider the well-known portrait of Varolari (called Il Padovanino) in the Museo Civico at Padua—where the so-called "Vesalius" also hangs; the portrait of Salvator Rosa, at Berlin, wherein we see the broken statuette; the "Portraits of the Family of the Artist's

Brother" by Bernardino Licinio at the Villa Borghese at Rome, in which a young man holds a headless statuette; the portraits of Sansovino and of the antiquary Jacopo de Strada—both at Vienna—by Titian; the two portraits of sculptors, by Bronzino, at the Louvre and at Florence; the "Portrait of the Sculptor Andrea Odino in his studio" by Lotto, at Hampton Court Palace; and, above all, one of the two pictures by Moroni, in the Vienna Museum, once supposed to be a portrait of Vesalius. As will be seen from the reproduction here, in the last example cited, in the hand of the sitter is a mutilated statuette, a torso—this time of Hercules—which is unchallengeable. These examples might easily be increased, but enough has been said to show that in no instance has any doubt been suggested as to the nature of the sculptural object, whether finished or unfinished.

Why, then, should any uncertainty exist or be expressed in the case of the picture before us? There seems to be no particular reason why an archæologist or antiquary should wish to be painted in the act of measuring off a newly roughed-out figurine; still less why this brilliant and famous portrait should be identified with Vesalius.

A moment's comparison of this picture with the *Fabrica* portrait should have put it out of court *ab initio*. The shape of the sitter's skull is quite different and it is much too small: the frontal protuberances are lacking, as well as those of the cheek-bones; the silhouette on the right side is relatively without "incident"; the nose does not turn up; the elephantine ear—so unlike Vesalius's—is differently placed; the face is oval instead of square; the hair is straight instead of curly. The only resemblance between the two, and even that is not complete, lies in the doublet and jerkin—which is natural enough, for the fashion still persisted. In any case, the painted picture seems to represent a man close on Vesalius's age; if so it was executed about the year 1542. At that time, Tintoretto was only twenty-four years old. What other contemporary picture is known of his in which the youth gave proof of such amazing skill of experienced handling—almost, one might say, of *bravura* as is shown in the painting of the landscape and the dress? Are these—the landscape especially—a young man's work?

It is interesting to recall that Tintoretto devoted himself to the serious study of anatomy, and that he used wax and clay models, which he had taken from dissected subjects, in the conscientious working out of his figures. His admiration, therefore, for Vesalius, who was only two years his senior, must have been unbounded. The artist, who was born and made his fame in Venice, hardly ever travelled out of his native city. Vesalius at this time was in Padua.

To Tintoretto also may be ascribed the picture in the same gallery erroneously attributed to Titian, the "Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman," which bears a greater facial resemblance to Vesalius than the majority of portraits known by his name. The nose no doubt is not as concave as it should be; and the sitter is probably too fine a gentleman—as he stands holding with his right hand the top of a long staff, and with his left toying with the hilt of his sword, and, gravely yet richly robed, decked with a double chain of gold—to pass for the man of science. But the general resemblance is striking enough to make us wonder why this portrait, too, has not been shepherded into the fold which holds so many questionable Vesaliuses. This picture belonged to the late King of Bavaria. It measures 60 inches by 51½ (1·52m. by 1·18); the inscription on the background records the sitter's age—ANNVM. AGENS | XXXXI.

6. FLORENCE.

PITTI GALLERY. (Exhibited in the Mars Gallery.)

By TITIAN (1477 ? — 1576).

On canvas. Dimensions: 50½ in. by 38¾ in. (128 cm. × 98 cm.).

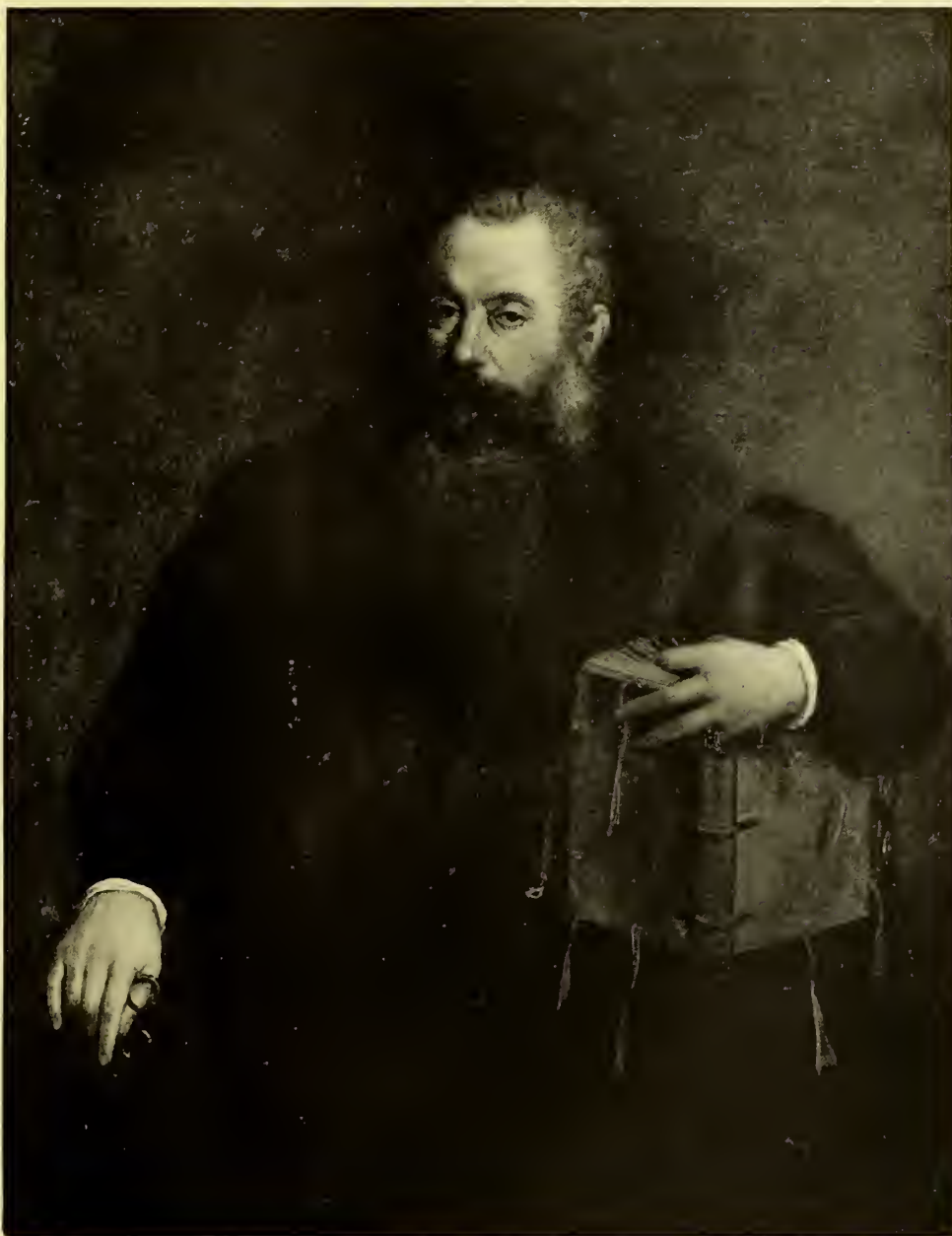
It is likely enough that this picture may be a genuine work by Titian, but it has been subjected to so much restoration and repainting that no expert would be bold enough to express a definitive opinion on the point. Crowe and Cavalcaselle* declare that it has been so much spoiled by restorations, re-paints, bad varnish, especially in the head, that it is impossible to pronounce a certain opinion as to the painter, although we recognize that aspect and style are entirely Titianesque. Even when Titian's brush appears to be seen here and there, a precise and reasoned judgment can scarcely be pronounced.†

In these circumstances it is not easy to accord a date to the picture, save very approximately. Dr. Oskar Fischel,‡ among other critics of recognized authority, has unhesitatingly attributed it to the year 1550 or soon after. But in 1550 Vesalius was only thirty-six years old—whereas here, as one may guess, we have a man of sixty at the least! What becomes then of the identification as Vesalius? Even if we concede the

* *Tiziano*, p. 417.

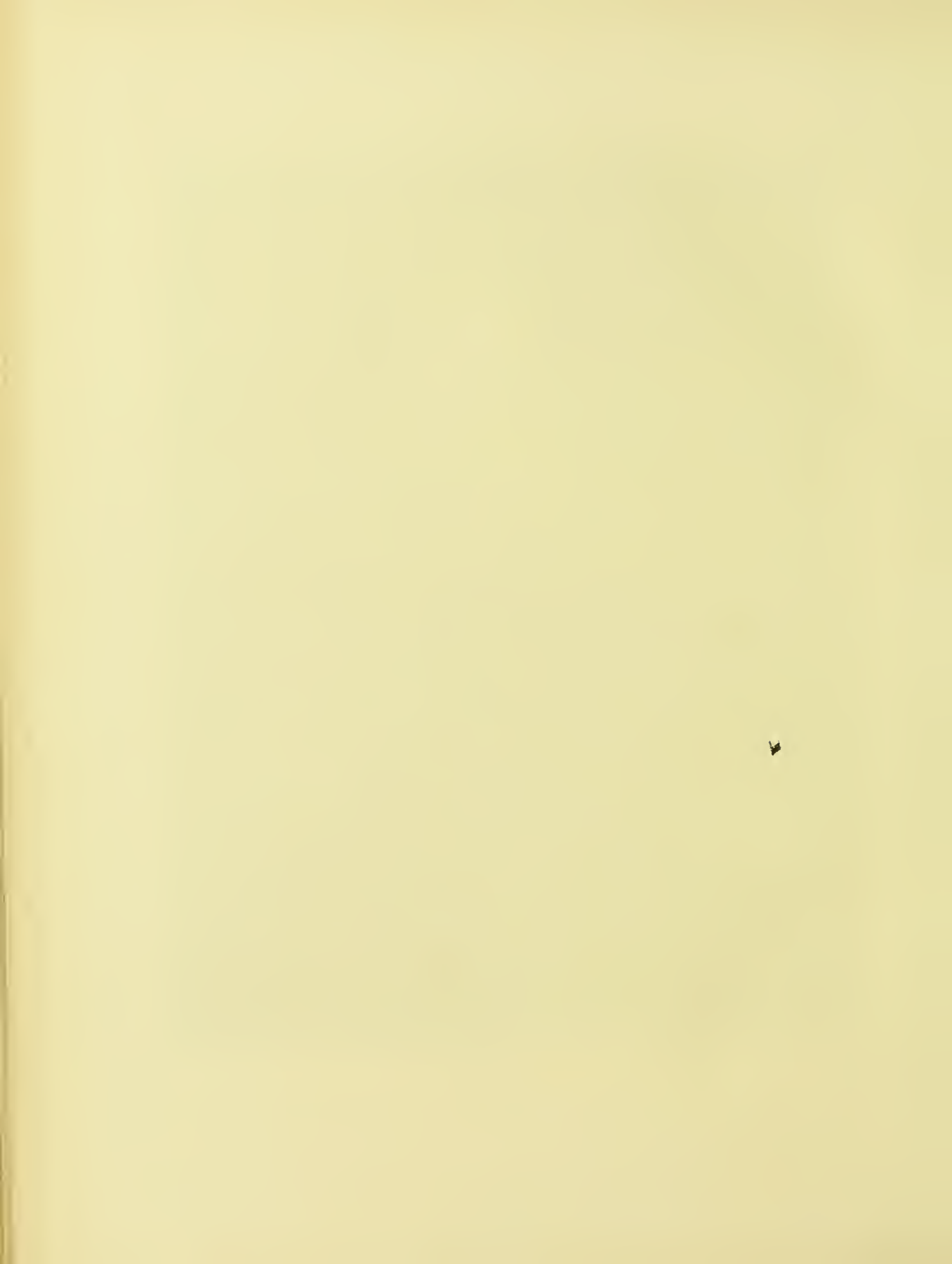
† As quoted by Roth.

‡ *Klassiker der Kunst*: Tizian. Leipzig, 1904.



By TITIAN
In the Pitti Gallery
FLORENCE

(Photograph by Anderson, Rome.)



age as fifty—the year of Vesalius's death—the picture must have been painted in 1564, when Titian was eighty-seven years old or thereabouts. The artist was already thirty-seven years of age when the anatomist was born—it was the year of his great picture “Christ and the Magdalen—Noli me tangere” in the National Gallery. It will be seen that facts fit ill when it is sought to press them into a Titian-Vesalius formula.

In the edition of the Pitti Catalogue of 1882 it is still stated without reserve that the picture (No. 80) is a “Portrait of Vesalius” and by Titian. Since that time, however, the allegation has been discreetly modified. Lafenestre and Richtenberger,* in the catalogue of the gallery to which they devoted great pains, express themselves thus: “There are grounds for doubting whether this portrait represents the celebrated anatomist. Of all the so-called portraits of Vesalius, at Vienna (Belvedere, Ambras Collection),† Munich, Padua, no two correspond.” This, of course, is going rather too far. Dr. Fischel‡ concurs in the opinion that the former belief in the picture as a portrait of Vesalius is not only without authority but without any solid grounds. Roth utters neither protest nor doubt, although he must have realized that the face of this Venetian noble, almost an old man, contemplative and weary, with drooping eyelids, has nothing in common with that of the great Fleming, the man full of life, fire, and energy, who welcoming his new appointment to Padua gladly faced a long pilgrimage under Malatesta with the Venetian fleet to Cyprus en route to Jerusalem, not destined to return to activity and glory, but to meet a violent death by shipwreck and to be beholden for charitable burial to a goldsmith friend. He was then still a youngish man: he had not yet passed out of his “forties.”

The grave and reverend Signor of the picture is, as has been described, a man of some corpulency and of accumulated years. He has a long beard and shortish hair already whitening, with heavy, sleepy eyes which have looked long on life and sorrow and tell us they have seen enough. He is seated, tired and idle, in his easy-chair, comfortably wrapped in his black fur-trimmed robe. In his right hand he holds his horn *pince-nez* (usually described as “spectacles,” but without “side-pieces”), and he rests his left hand on an open book which certainly does not represent a folio such as the *Fabrica*. The book,

* See Georges Lafenestre et Eugène Richtenberger: *Florence*. Paris.

† See later: “PORTRAITS UNTRACED.”

‡ See Dr. Oskar Fischel, *op. cit.*

some leaves of which he fingers, rests upright on the arm of the chair. What resemblance is there between the head and face of Vesalius in the woodcut and those of this dignified old gentleman whose skull is relatively small and whose face is relatively large? It is true that we may trace some slight likeness to the young man in Tintoret's painting at Munich, which we last considered; but to what purpose, seeing that the claim to its being a portrait of Vesalius has long since been abandoned? The only interest this picture can be said to possess for us here is that during a certain period it has been accepted as a likeness of Vesalius; that it is the basis on which at least one other portrait has been invested with the same factitious distinction, and that it has been several times engraved as a portrait of the anatomist: by T. Ver Cruijs, L. Vosterman the Younger, J. Troyen, L. Paradisi, Demannez, and others, and admirably rendered in lithography by G. Wenk; and that it seems to have inspired the fancy figure of Vesalius, in a state of extreme old age, of patriarchal aspect and seer-like gesture (chronologically considered, ridiculous) in the composition of the title-page design in the Venetian edition of the *Fabrica* of 1604, admirably engraved by F. Valegio.*

Yet to this day Anderson of Rome publishes his excellent photograph of the picture under the title of "Andrea Vesale (Tiziano) Gall. Pitti." While History merely repeats itself, Tradition, especially when false, seldom breaks continuity: there are many who still imagine that this type of Titian's "majestic calm," as William Rossetti called it, is the type of the masterful innovator from Flanders.

7. GLASGOW—I.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW (Hunterian Museum).

Attributed to TITIAN, *or to* JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR.

On canvas. Dimensions: 29½ in. by 24¼ in. (75 cm. × 62 cm.).

This picture, which Sir William Stirling-Maxwell† describes as a "fine portrait," has been assumed in Glasgow—although with something short of confidence—to be by Titian, with the name of Calcar in reserve, to be brought forward in the last resource. Dr. William Hunter (1718-1783), President of the Society of Physicians (London, 1781), and

* For details of the plates here mentioned, see the section of "ENGRAVINGS."

† See ANDREAE VESALII, *Tabulae Anatomicae Sex*. London. 1874. Fol. 3.



In the Medical School of the Middlesex Hospital
LONDON

(See p. 42)



Attributed to TITIAN or CALCAR
In the Hunterian Museum of the University
GLASGOW

Professor of Anatomy at Glasgow, where he founded the School and the Museum of Anatomy, bequeathed to the University this work of art among the numerous items comprised in the Hunter Collection.* It seems that Dr. W. Hunter had bought the picture for £33 at the death-sale of Dr. Richard Mead [1673-1754, leading physician, collector and scholar, appointed to read the anatomical lectures in Surgeons' Hall: he had graduated at Padua, the scene of Vesalius's triumph, in 1695, in philosophy and physic.] In a note appended by the compiler—who evidently feared that the price might discount public opinion in regard to the genuineness of the work—we find the artless remark, “it must be worth at the present time ten times as much.” That is the sum of the information procurable on the subject. Nothing is known of the picture's history, no document is in existence concerning it; no proof of authenticity or of identification has been in any way advanced.

The picture is very agreeable in colour. Flesh tints are well rendered; the cheeks are ruddy, the forehead yellowish, the hair and beard dark brown; the robe and doublet of silk, greyish in hue, is provided with a collar and bordering of sable of the same tone as the hair; the eyes are almost black, the background very dark. There is no inscription: on the back of the canvas are still to be seen the pasted labels of the several exhibitions to which the painting has from time to time been lent. And that is all.

Nevertheless, according to Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell and Roth, this portrait is to be considered the original of the Woodcut in the *Fabrica*! How such an opinion could have been entertained at all, still less published, is inconceivable, for it rests on no serious or even plausible basis. A brief examination will remove any doubt on that score, because the fundamental differences between the two works preclude any idea of general resemblance which, such as there is, appears to be purely fortuitous. It is impossible to admit that any artist could have produced these two dissimilar representations as portraits of Vesalius and put them forward as the likeness of the same man, so contradictory is each of its fellow. The *Fabrica* portrait is the unchallengeable authority, and if it tells us the “true truth” about Vesalius we have no option but to conclude that either the Glasgow picture has no direct relation with the original—in which

* In the catalogue, dated 1812, edited by Captain Laskey, containing a history of the Hunter Museum, the portrait is attributed to Titian.

case it has little interest for us—or else that it is the portrait of some other than Vesalius—in which case it has none at all.

In the picture the upper part of the forehead and of the head are much smaller than in the woodcut portrait; the upper part of the face has less character and is, so to say, commonplace; the frontal bone is less protuberant; the super-orbital prominences less marked; the eyebrows, regular in their arch, have neither the angle nor the inclination seen in the cut; the ear, lumpy in form and ill-drawn, is of a different shape. The gentle eyes are rounded-oval in shape, notably at the inner angle near the lachrymal duct; the eyelid droops, whereas the Woodcut shows a lid vigorously elevated and a much sharper angle at the inner corner. There are notable differences in the form of the nose, its direction and projection, as well as in that of the nostrils. It is falling instead of tilted. The ear is lower in the painting; the mouth has an air of soft and insipid amiability; the moustache, which is more or less horizontal in the Woodcut, falls, as it were, from an apex. This last detail is again important as a matter of identification, because, as has already been said, the field and direction of the growth of hair, do not change within a few years' lapse, still less at the same moment. The obliquity of the angle at which the hair follicle always projects is constant (except under the rare momentary influence of the *arrector pili*). It is claimed, be it remembered, that the two portraits are identical as regards the period of Vesalius's life; how, then, is the great difference of the growth of hair over the forehead explained? Stirling-Maxwell and Roth have not attempted to offer any explanation or adjustment of the dilemma.

Examine further the two portraits and you find the differences to become emphasized, especially in regard to expression. He of the picture gazes at us with an almost tender, sensuous look, with little intelligence, individuality, or character—he of the Woodcut breathes forth energy, firmness, and eagerness for intellectual strife. If the picture is the original of the Woodcut, why has the engraver substituted a stamped velvet, or damask, doublet for the fur-trimmed robe of silk—(the one little more suitable for the dissector's business than the other)?—no matter, indeed, which is “copied” from the other. Above all, why has the copyist altered the direction of the body, and likewise of the head, showing it at a different angle, as well as of totally different shape? Why has he retained in one presentation scarcely a single detail of the other? There is more in this disparity than the individuality of two artists alleged to be working on the same subject—there is blindness

to vision and to form, and even more, contempt for nature. Who has ever charged either Titian or Calcar with these shortcomings? Such are the reasons for our statement that supposing it to be possible that the Glasgow picture is intended as a portrait of Vesalius, there is no room for the belief of any direct relationship between the painting and the Woodcut.

As to the attribution to Titian, as has been suggested, this is more than doubtful, even supposing the picture to be an original and not a copy.* There is, of course, a hint of his School and manner in the air of distinction imparted to the sitter. That may be conceded readily. On the other hand there are weaknesses which reject the ascription, unless we admit extensive repainting of which there appears to be little evidence. Again, if we compare this picture with the other, also attributed to Titian in the Pitti Gallery (which has just been considered) we find again essential differences: the man of Glasgow is the junior of the other by at least a score of years, while the picture shows marked inferiority in draughtsmanship, expression, and "air," in notable contrast with the pictural vigour and aspect of nobility so notable in the man of Florence, after all considerations of re-touching and restoration have been taken into account.

Yet when all is said, the Glasgow picture reveals, in spite of its condition, a good work of art without any of the grosser evidences one might expect to find in an ordinary copy. That it is an original work few have been bold enough to maintain. A picture-lover of Glasgow, a member of the University, energetically declares to the present writer—"I have no hesitation in stating that the picture is not by Titian, nor even a contemporary copy, nor a school picture. It may be by Calcar." The assertion lacks nothing of emphasis, but broadly speaking it appears to conform to what hitherto has been the general view of expert judges. Why I believe this picture to be certainly a copy, and a copy after Tintoretto, is explained in my notes on the two pictures that follow. It should be noted that it is painted *on a twill canvas*.

In conclusion, thanks must be expressed to the University of Glasgow for permission to reproduce here this much discussed and therefore highly interesting work.

* See *infra*, the Woburn Abbey picture.

8. LONDON.

MIDDLESEX HOSPITAL. (MEDICAL SCHOOL.)

Painter unknown.

On canvas. Dimensions: 29½ in. by 24½ in. (75 cm. × 60 cm.).

These dimensions, it will be seen, are identical with those of the last-named picture, at the Glasgow University, and of that, next following, at Woburn Abbey. Of the former it is a fairly accurate copy, save that the colouring is freshened up and the background is much lighter in tone. We have here the same personage, blooming with health—like a gentleman-farmer come to Court—as insipidly contented as in its original, but endowed with even less character. It is painted on a similar twill canvas, and is not more than about a century old. It was probably, therefore, copied by order of Dr. William Hunter for a present, towards the end of his life—or perhaps by permission of the University of Glasgow, to content an admirer, from whom it ultimately passed by gift into the possession of the Middlesex Hospital Medical School, where it now decorates the Dean's Room. That it is a copy of the Glasgow picture, and not of that at Woburn Abbey, there is not a shadow of a doubt,—because it reproduces all the peculiarities and errors of the former picture wherein that departs from the Duke of Bedford's original version by Tintoretto.

The head is smaller and less round than the original, and is reproduced without any particular merit and with no brilliancy. The dress is pleasant in tone and may even be said to be skilful in execution; but liberties have been taken, and the forms are fussy. The painter here felt himself free from the responsibility which attaches to the rendering of a head. While any competent journeyman-copyist might have produced the head, the dress is very personal in its handling, reminding us of the manner of Vanderbanck; it may have been done by a pupil of his—possibly a professional “drapery-painter,” unhappily intent on furbishing up the original. It is painted with less breadth. The drawing is pinched; the face too narrow; the eyes are staring and the left lid droops; the faulty ear is faultier than before.

It is therefore unnecessary to say aught in respect of the likeness: our remarks on the Glasgow University picture apply equally, even more stringently, here.

9. WOBURN, BEDFORDSHIRE, ENGLAND.

WOBURN ABBEY. (Seat of the Duke of Bedford, K.G.)

By TINTORETTO (formerly attributed to TITIAN).

On canvas. Dimensions: 28½ in. by 24 in. (72·3 cm. × 61 cm.).

[Obviously "sight-size" only.]

When we come to examine the Duke of Bedford's picture, we can entertain no sort of doubt that it is from this fine work that the Glasgow University portrait and its copy at the Middlesex Hospital were derived. The manner is that of Tintoretto; the handling and drawing are his, easy and fearless; the pigment is not less characteristic.

The head is not so round as that in the Glasgow picture; the nose is longer and more pointed—(there is a damage and clumsy re-paint on the left nostril)—and, in consequence, even less like that in the *Fabrica* portrait. The cheek-bone is placed lower; the pupil of the right eye is nearer to the nose—in fact it touches it; the ear is beautifully and delicately drawn, in striking contrast to the pulpy object that represents it in the other versions. There is the same elusive self-satisfied smile—something akin to what we see in Leonardo's "La Joconda" and in Frans Hals's miscalled "Laughing Cavalier"—but here the air of good-humour almost degenerates into a simper. The dress, curiously enough, lacks dignity in design, so crumpled are the folds; but above them the head tells forth with vigour and emphasis. If the character is strongly marked, this, it will be recognized, is the virtue of the painter and not of the sitter.

The attribution of this picture to Titian was first challenged by Dr. Waagen* and later on by Sir George Scharf,† the latter, curiously enough, pointing out, as regards the identity of the sitter, that it "is not at all like the well known picture of Vesalius holding a torso, in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna." But then Scharf was manifestly unacquainted with the *Fabrica* Woodcut and was not aware that, as regards the Vienna portrait, the picture has no solid claim to represent the anatomist: there was but a conjectural claim which, as has been shown, is now altogether abandoned.

Sir George Scharf, who was the Keeper and Secretary of the National

* Waagen: *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*. 1857. P. 335.

† Catalogue of the pictures at Woburn Abbey, compiled by Sir G. Scharf for His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Portrait Gallery, was rightly regarded throughout his career as the highest, the most judicious and trustworthy authority on portraiture and iconography in Great Britain. In the catalogue which he compiled for the Duke of Bedford he describes the painting thus: "A small portrait, called Andreas Vesalius. Seen to the waist. Face turned in three-quarters towards the right. Light admitted from the right hand side. Lavender figured dress, faced with brown fur. A very powerful Italian countenance, with dark hair and eyes, and full beard. Plain brown background;" and he is silent in respect to authorship. Waagen refers to it thus in his description of the pictures at Woburn: "TITIAN (?)—Portrait of the celebrated anatomist Vesalius. Conception, colouring, and treatment lead me to consider it rather a good picture by Tintoretto." No doubt it is in accordance with this declaration, supported by subsequent critical opinion, that the picture now bears the tablet: "Andreas Vesalius, Born 1514, Died 1564. JACOPO ROBUSTI (called IL TINTORETTO)."

N.B.—Two more copies of this picture by Tintoretto are on exhibition in London—at the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. One of them is nearly full size; the other represents little more than the head and shoulders.

10. LONDON.

ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

Attributed to JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR.

On canvas (laid on panel). Dimensions: 39 in. by 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (99 cm. × 74·5 cm.).

Inscription (in upper left corner):

ANDREAS VESALIUS

J. CALCAR, *Pinx.*

The portrait in the possession of the Royal College of Physicians has sufficient points in common with that belonging to the Académie de Médecine of Paris to justify us in accepting both as intended to represent the same person, whoever he may be. The portrait of Ambroise Paré in the Faculté de Médecine in Paris might be bracketed with them, for it certainly shares the family likeness. They belong, in



By TINTORETTO
In the Collection of the Duke of Bedford, K.G.
WOBURN ABBEY



After the Portrait by TIXTORETTO at Woburn Abbey 29 in. × 24½ in.
In the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum
LONDON



After the Portrait by TINTORETTO at Woburn Abbey 24 in. × 19 in.
In the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum
LONDON

fact, to a "type" which many people have come to accept as that of Vesalius—doubtless owing to the several engravings, widely published, which have been made after these two pictures, and the modern adaptation of the Paris picture painted by Devaux in Brussels.

The question has been raised more than once whether one of these London-Paris pictures is not a copy of the other, at least as far as the face is concerned.

There is no doubt that "in the year 1797 permission was granted for a copy to be made" of the London picture, because the Index of the *Annals* of the Royal College of Physicians plainly makes the statement. It is possibly this information which has caused persons unacquainted with the Paris picture to accord priority to that of London. Consulting the *Annals* themselves, we find that "Permission was given to a Mr. Green* employed by R. S. Tighe, Esq., to copy the portrait of Vesalius and one or two others." What has become of this copy, if it was ever made, is unknown; possibly it was intended for use by an engraver. In any case, as the Paris picture is undoubtedly the older of the two, and moreover as a work of art a good deal the finer, and as besides it is certainly done from the life—if there is any question of copy, one from the other, it is not that of the Académie de Médecine which would be so described. When we compare the two pictures we are struck by the fundamental differences in shape of skull and face. In the London portrait the forehead is much narrower, and the hair in the middle of it grows (or is cut) not in a point but in a straight line across; the beard is much wider, longer, and bushier, the eyebrows are in shape totally different; so, too, is the pose of the head; while as to the position of the right hand, the back of the wrist rests on the hip (as in the Paris portrait) but is differently held, with fingers closed instead of extended. One might almost believe that it is the coincidence of the general pose of the hand (in spite of its differences) without much regard being had to the head at all, which first suggested the relation since claimed between the pictures.

As for the inscription, considered as a piece of evidence, it is modern; certainly not earlier than the end of the 18th century and as certainly repainted since.

The man as represented here is tall and thin—a physique which has

* It is noteworthy that "a Mr. Green" was associated with the Shakespeare-portrait manufacturers, Zincke and Holder, about this time. Perhaps Green was tout and scout for the two who were engaged in producing fraudulent portraits of great men, including Vesalius, certain of which have lately been agitating the minds of collectors.

nothing whatever in common with him of the *Fabrica*: the head is elongated; the skull is narrow instead of round and large; the hair straight and stiff instead of curly, brushed forward instead of curling freely or even brushed back; the cheekbones low instead of high; the nose long, straightish and very slightly concave instead of short and projecting with strong concavity; the tip of it is level with the nostril instead of above it; the mouth (as indicated by the lower lip) is narrow instead of wide; the distance between eyes and mouth is great instead of short; the head is fairly proportionate to the body, anyhow rather small than relatively large and massive. And the tallness, thinness, and comparative lack of physical strength contrast sharply with the shortness of the thickset man, wide of shoulder and powerful in muscular development, whom we are asked to believe is here represented.

The identity of the two portraits, therefore, as must be manifest, cannot be admitted, wherefore it is hard to explain how the legend could have arisen that this picture is the original of the *Fabrica* Woodcut which contradicts it on every point.* Nor is the attribution to Calcar any more certain, although a degree less unacceptable than the presumption of identity with Vesalius. Technically considered, there is practically no resemblance in handling between this picture and the two works by Calcar in the Louvre and the National Gallery respectively. It might be objected that no positive judgment can be pronounced in the case of an artist whose versatility in "manner" and in imitation was so absolute as was that of Calcar; but on the other hand it is not less difficult to accept as the work of so brilliant an artist and so correct a draughtsman, the weakness of this head in which a nose inclining to profile projects from a face seen almost from the front—an error so patent that it was corrected by William Holl in his engraving from the picture. The drawing of the eyes, too, lacks correctness as well as decision.

Critics of good judgment have hazarded the opinion that the portrait is a copy after a lost original by Titian. Colour is given to the contention by the very striking resemblance between this picture and that by Titian, engraved by van Troyen, which was formerly in the Gallery of the Archduke Leopold, and was introduced by David Teniers into his picture of the Interior of the Gallery, now hanging in the Brussels Museum. Even the slashings of the doublet are there reproduced: only the position

* See Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 446. We are left to wonder how a biographer as able as Roth could see the "original" of the *Fabrica* Woodcut in several different paintings, without there being affinity one with the other.



Attributed to CALCAR
In the Royal College of Physicians
LONDON

of the arm is changed. [It is explained further on why it is probable that this portrait represents the Senator Nicsono.] But the largeness of manner, the firmness of handling, and the decisive rendering of character distinctive of Titian are wholly absent.

When Holl engraved the picture on steel* not only did he correct the nose, as has been said, but raised the cheekbones, reduced the size of the eyes and turned their gaze towards the spectator, and projected the ear—thus rendering the appearance of head and face narrower than ever.

The picture was exhibited in the Collection of paintings by Old Masters, in the summer of 1847 at the British Institution, in London (No. 51).

Our reproduction is from a photograph made by the courteous consent of the Council of the College. It had already been photographed, in 1912, for Mr. Bernhard Berenson, the eminent art critic.

LITERARY NOTE.

This picture is the first of the eleven so-called portraits of Vesalius now, in 1924, known to be in Great Britain, the others being those at (2) the British Museum, (3) the Middlesex Hospital, (4) the Wellcome Museum, (5) that in commercial hands (formerly at Brighton), (6) at Woburn Abbey, (7) at West Linton, (8) at Oxford, (9) at Worthing, and (10 and 11) those at Glasgow—the University and the Art Gallery.† This attraction of portraits to a single country may perhaps be taken as some evidence of British appreciation of Vesalius and of his service to mankind from the time when, in the middle of the 16th century and onwards, the more intelligent and enlightened study of anatomy received through him a stimulus not less potent than that which moved the rest of Europe. The first literary impulse, of course, directly due to the inspiration of Vesalius, was the publication in 1545 of the admitted piracy of his book by the genial plagiarist Thomas Geminus who put forth Calcar's plates re-engraved on copper, and dedicated the collection

* In 1840, for the *Medical Portrait Gallery*, by Dr. T. J. Pettigrew; Vol. II. (Fisher & Co., London and Paris.)

† Of these I take as Original Works those at the Royal College of Physicians, at Woburn Abbey, at the British Museum, and at Castle Goring, Worthing; as copies or "repetitions," those at the Glasgow University and at the Middlesex Hospital (both after the Woburn picture), at West Linton, Brighton (formerly), Glasgow Art Gallery, and at Christ Church, Oxford (all four after the Louvre picture).

to Henry VIII—one of those annexations by which Vesalius was more irritated than flattered, and of which he bitterly complained.

This work was the *COMPENDIOSA totius Anatomie delineatio aere exarata : per Thomas Geminum. LONDINI in officina Ioanni Herefordie. Anno Domini 1545 MENSE OCTOBRI.* The dedication to Henry VIII. is signed : *Thomas Geminus Lusienſis.* It begins with the headlines *ANDREAE VESALII BRUXELLENSIS SVORVM DE HVMANI CORPORIS FABRICA LIBRORVM EPITOME.** The second edition (1553) was dedicated to Edward VI. and the third (1559) to Elizabeth, with a portrait of the Queen. All these editions were published in London ; and the last, being printed in English, spread widely the fame of Vesalius, and likely enough came in course of time to the knowledge of Shakespeare. Yet it has been authoritatively suggested that the Poet obtained his knowledge of medical science from *The whole Worke of that famous Chirurgion John Wigo, 1572* (folio, in black letter) on the ground that it was “the only surgical book which is known for certain to have found its way to Stratford-on-Avon in Shakespeare’s time.” A poor reason, surely. Why should the country youth have read medicine at Stratford rather than later on in London when for the sake of his dramatic work he had some use for it ? And why should not a copy of Geminus’s Vesalius volume with its plates have penetrated unrecorded into Shakespeare’s native town ? The book, as has been said, was already published in the English language.

Two important points are raised by the wording of the title. “Thomas Geminus *Lusienſis*” is a puzzle not easily solved. Whether the cognomen signifies some place-name (such as Vesalius *Bruxellensis* or Johnson *Londinensis*) or the old Roman family of *Lusienſis* cannot apparently be determined.

If the problem were solved by the latter alternative, a greater difficulty would result. For while in the Register of the Stationers’ Company of 1554 there is an entry of “Thomas Gemyne, Stranger,” in the “Annals” of the Royal College of Physicians of the following year Geminus is definitely described as “Flander.” Again, his cognomen has on high authority† been rendered as “*Lysienſis*”—which helps us not at all, unless perhaps he were a native of, say, Lys-les-Lannoy, near Lille ; or unless, conceivably though not probably, the name be a corruption or

* This engraved title-page, with the title in a *tabella*, or cartouche, is on a copperplate measuring 13½ in. by 7½ in. (35 cm. × 19 cm.).

† See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

misprint of *Leuvenensis* = of Liège. But few facts are known of the life of Geminus, even such elementary data as the years of his birth and death: biographical works have had to content themselves with "flourished 1540-1560." He established himself in London as a printer—so we are told on the strength of such evidence as the imprint to his work on measurements (1556): "Imprinted at London in ye Blackfriars" [that is to say, the quarter of the city particularly affected by foreigners, mainly Netherlanders] "by *Thomas Gemine* who is ther ready exactly to make all the Instruments apertaining to thes booke"—which in this instance seems as likely to imply that he was a mathematical instrument-seller who issued the book as an advertisement for the main purpose of pushing his wares. In that case he need not have been the actual printer. Geminus's prints have been described as the earliest in England printed on a plate-rolling machine and himself as one of the first copperplate-engravers in England. His work, compared with that of his contemporary Rogers, has little in common with it. It is natural therefore to accept the entry of the Royal College of Physicians as nearest the truth, and to regard Geminus as a Flemish immigrant.

There is another crux. The plates are stated to be engraved "*per Thomas Geminum.*" The most obvious signification, of course, is "by" T. G. But common usage equally allows the rendering "through or by the intermediary of"—all that is meant, perhaps, being that the plates were procured by him to be published for him by Hereford. For its ordinary meaning of "published by" we need go no farther than Vesalius's own publisher who, although in the case of the anatomist's works he usually used the expression "*ex officina I. Oporini*" as often adopted the alternative form "*per Ioannem Oporinum.*" It may be, of course, that Geminus actually engraved the plates and brought them to England for publication. The present writer was therefore surprised to find, in the Municipal Library of Thun a copy of the Nuremberg, 1551, edition of Vesalius with the plates of Geminus. It is possible that the set of plates was inserted. The circumstance is the more curious as this publication came between the two last English editions: it suggests an international commercial enterprise on the part of the mysterious Geminus. The essential portion of the wording on the title-page of this folio—highly decorative in its design and "display," and logographic all but the imprint—is worth the setting forth here: *ANATOMIA DEUDSCH, Ein Kurtzer Auszug, der beschreibung, aller glider Menschlichs Leyds aus der buchern des Hochgelerten Hern D. Andrei Vesalij von Brüssel. Rd.*

Key . . . gedruckt zu Nüruberg beim J. Paulo Fabricio. anno Salutis MDLI mense Augusto. Too much credence should not be placed in the suggestion that Geminus is but a Latinized form of the name of Dr. Thomas Twyne*—the learned and industrious translator from numerous works in Latin and Greek such as, “Phisicke against Fortune . . . Written in Latine by Frauncis Petrarch, a most famous Poet, and Oratour. And now first Englished by Thomas Twyne” (London, R. Watkyns, 1579) and (by Dionysius Alexandrinus) “The Surveye of the World . . . first written in Greeke and now Englished by Thomas Twyne (London, Henry Bynneman, 1572). Others have searched for a possible Frenchman named Jumeau, or an Italian named Gemello, or a German named Zwilling, but, as might have been expected, without success.

There is a second point of interest. The tradition of Padua, as one of the greatest centres of learning, mainly medical, had been brought to England by Dr. John Caius (1510-1573) who had studied medicine under Jean Baptiste Montanus, and anatomy under the still greater Vesalius, one of the most devoted of whose disciples he had been. It was at Padua that Caius took his degree in medicine in 1541 (while Vesalius was completing the *Fabrica*), and on his return to London he was elected nine times consecutively President of the College of Physicians. Later on he was appointed physician-surgeon successively to Edward VI., to Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and in 1588 he became the re-founder of Gonville College (originally founded in 1348) of the University of Cambridge, which has perpetuated his name in “Gonville and Caius College.” A success of still greater significance was that he obtained for his College a privilege analogous to that enjoyed by the Barber-Surgeons—that is to say, he secured the right to dissect two bodies annually within the precincts of the College.†

* Yet it is curious that, as Camden reminds us, “Thomas” signifies “Twin”: wherefore “Thomas” “Twyne” “Geminus” seem to suggest a triple connexion.

† It was as late as 1829 that a Bill for legalizing Anatomy came before the notice of Parliament and the country, when it was stated that “a ‘subject’ for dissection cost £10.” On that occasion the following epigram was contributed to the *John Bull* newspaper by “Outis” (said by Dobell, on what authority was unknown to him, to be the pseudonym of Sir J. F. Davis):—

“Time was, ere surgeons learn’d their charnel trade,
One Sovereign against many Subjects weigh’d;
But science to such fearful change gives birth,
One subject now ten sovereigns is worth.”

[These lines were reprinted in the volume, “Poetry and Criticism, by Outis,” privately issued by the author in 1850.]

The Barber-Surgeons* and their associates in the art and science of practical dissection received much attention; and mention not infrequent of the Annual Lecture † is to be found in Elizabethan and Jacobean popular literature, especially in the Drama. Ben Jonson, in his *Ode to James, Earl of Desmond*, alludes to the then legalized practice of the Barber-Surgeons:—

“When her [*i.e.*, the Muse's] dead essence, like the anatomy
In Surgeons'-hall
Is but a statist's theme to read phlebotomy.”

A little later, in Thomas Dekker's comedy, *The Honest Whore*, Part II, printed in 1630, Orlando Friscobaldi, father of the heroine, soliloquizes—when Infelice asks the Duke who is about to judge a criminal, to allow her to be present, in safe concealment, at the trial—

“Thus nice dames swear, it is unfit their eyes
Should view men carved up for anatomies,
Yet they'll see all, so they may stand unseen.”

Shakespeare alludes many times to anatomy—in *Romeo and Juliet* (1591), in *The Comedy of Errors* (1592), *King John* (1594), *All's Well that Ends Well* (1595), *As You Like It* (1599), *Twelfth Night* (1600), and *King Lear* (1606): the passages are too well known to need quotation; yet King Lear's exclamation concerning his daughter Regan's cruelty may be recalled (Act III, sc. vi):—

“Then let them anatomize Regan; see what breeds about her heart. Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts?”

So, too, his contemporaries, his elder, Christopher Marlowe, and all the others: anatomy was present to the minds of all and forced its way into their writings. In Ben Jonson's *Volpone, or the Fox* (Act II, sc. ii) of 1607, the cruel and rapacious merchant Corvino seeks to terrify his wife Celia with a frightful threat:—

“Nor look toward the window: if thou dost . . .
But I will make thee an anatomy,
Dissect thee mine own self, and read a lecture
Upon thee in the city, and in public.”

* Incorporated 1436; alliance of the two bodies dissolved, 32nd. Henry VIII; Corporation dissolved by Act of Parliament, 18th George II. See “Statutes: *Anno XXXII. Henrici Octavi*” (*Londini ex ædibus Thomae Bertheleti*, 1540), containing the Act incorporating the Fellowship of Surgeons with the Company of Barbers, as well as “the Acte concernyng the Priuileges of physicions.” See also, John Stow's *Survey of London*.

† The Lecture was read in Knightrider Street, London in 1584.

Jonson, too, satirizing the pedantic fashion of the age in dandling before the gaping public the technical terms of learning of every class, sets up the doctor as one of the objects of his shafts. In *The Staple of News* (1625—IV. i) he employs a character, honest Pennyboy Canter, the disguised father, to speak his bitter views on the “canting” prevalent among poets, strategists, astrologers, and the rest. His unsuspecting son spurs him on with a challenge—“On to thy proof ; whom prove you the next canter ?”—and the critic retorts :—

“ The doctor here ; I will proceed with the learned.
 When he discourseth of dissection,
 Or any point of anatomy ; that he tells you
 Of *vena cava*, and of *vena porta*,
 The *meseraics*, and the *mesenterium* :
 What does he else but cant ? . . . [But]
 Do I despise a learn’d physician
 In calling *him* ” [the unconscionable Dr. Almanac] “ a quacksalver ? ”

It should be remembered that in the language of the day “anatomy” signified not only a “dissection,” or a “dissected body,” but also a “skeleton”—a word of which Shakespeare never makes use. (He, indeed, as has just been shown, generally employs the term in the sense of a dissected body*). In Dekker’s play, *The Witch of Edmonton* (1623), the wealthy and self-indulgent Carter exclaims :—

“ Should I diet three days at one of the slender city-suppers, you might send me to Barber-Surgeon’s Hall the fourth day, to hang up for an anatomy ! ” Others, as well, reflect upon the London Fathers’ asceticism. [Think of it, ye City Aldermen of to-day !] †

So “anatomy” in the wider meaning of searching critical analysis came into constant use in English general literature : the word had a

* But then, by “skeleton,” in Shakespeare’s day, was still commonly understood “mummy.” See Philemon Holland : *Plutarchs Philosophie, or the Morals* (1603)—“*Scelet* : the dead body of a man artificially dried or tanned for to be kept or seen a long time.” A half a century later the signification had developed in the direction of our understanding of the word. Thus, in the *Glossographia* by T. B[lount] (1656), we have the definition : “*Sceleton* is that which the vulgar call an *Anatomy* : the whole Fabrick or dry frame of humane Bones ; the dry carcass of a man or woman, with bones or ligaments onely.”

† The common use of the word “subject” (= French, *sujet*) in the sense of “dead body” is no modern innovation. Compare Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great* (2nd Part—1587), when the dying conqueror checks the lamentations of his sons :—

“ But, sons, this *subject*, not of force enough
 To hold the fiery spirit it contains
 Must part.” (V. iii).

great vogue as a title-term among authors great and small. We need but recall, for example, that the earliest didactic book of the wild Robert Greene was his *Arbusto, the Anatomie of Fortune*, published in 1584; that Philip Stubbes, when he had "reformed," made violent assault upon the theatrical performances of his day, in 1587, in his book entitled the *Anatomie of Abuses*; that Robert Prickett commemorated the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, in 1606, with *Times Anatomie, containing: The poore mans plaint, Brittons trouble, & her triumph*; that James Mason, in 1612, turned the light of truth on the "wicked impietie" of witchcraft, enchantment, and the like, in *The Anatomie of Sorcerie*; that Butler, in 1621, brought full half of classic Latin literature to bear on the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. An example of a title still more apposite is that which appeared in the following year, when Thomas Robinson published his heated attack on monastic life: *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery* at Lisbon in Portugall. Dissected and laid open by one that was sometime a younger Brother of the Convent . . . Published by Authoritie.*

Many more titles of this class might be quoted.

II. PARIS.

ACADÉMIE DE MÉDECINE.

Attributed to TITIAN, or to CALCAR.

On canvas. Dimensions: 43 in. by 33 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (109 cm. × 86 cm.)

[The dimensions of the more or less similar pictures at the Royal College of Physicians and at Brussels, are 39 in. × 29 $\frac{1}{4}$, and 51 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. × 37 $\frac{3}{4}$.]

The Baron Antoine Portal† bequeathed this fine portrait to the Académie de Médecine de Paris, in 1832. Of its *provenance* nothing is known. Portal was a man of judgment with a due respect for historical accuracy, so that it may be supposed that he possessed information of some value as to the origin of a canvas which he held in high esteem. If so, all trace of it has disappeared. As Professor Gley has written to

* The words Nunnery and Convent, of course, were then synonymous with Monastery. This little book is well remembered for its early and suggestive allusion to Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, (London 1622-3).

† Baron Portal (1742-1832) was the chief consulting physician of Louis XVIII, and was one of the founders of the Académie de Médecine of Paris. When he was twenty-eight years of age he wrote his much valued *Histoire de l'Anatomie et de la Chirurgie* (Paris, 1770). His portrait by Champmartin, exhibited in the Salon in 1833, the year after his death, was acquired by the State and was presented to the Montpellier Museum, where it now hangs.

us—"In the course of the past century the Académie has removed on two or three occasions, and by reason of these changes of abode the documents relative to the busts and pictures in its possession have gone astray"—it is useless to attempt any inquiry into the history of the picture.

Roth threw out the suggestion* that the portrait may be that said to have belonged to Giovanni Battista Morgagni, disciple of Valsalva who, at first inimical to Vesalius's teaching, became one of his devoted followers. Morgagni, in one of his "Letters to Glaub" in 1732, states that he has decorated his room with portraits of several men of eminence whose achievements had fired him with zest for work, and that, among these portraits, was one of Vesalius.† As nothing is known of this portrait or of its whereabouts, there is nothing impossible in the suggestion; nor is there aught to support or to recommend it.

Although it may be admitted that the picture belongs to the Venetian School and that there is something Titianesque in the manner of it, the critic would be bold indeed who would claim Titian as its painter. In 1857 L. Piesse rejected the attribution with emphasis. "It is the unanimous opinion" says he,‡ "that the portrait is not the work of Titian. A two-fold argument may be brought to establish this view—the one intrinsic, the other extrinsic. In the first place, the method of execution, the touch, the manner, have not the confidence, vigour, and masterly 'bigness' distinctive of the master; the handling has certainly the character and the style of his work, but it lacks the boldness and freedom that belong to an original. In the second place, there is nothing whatever to establish the historical authenticity of the portrait."

Piesse further declared that the authentic portraits of Vesalius differ completely from that of the Paris Académie "in pose, dress, and accessories. Lastly, the picture is not included among the numerous portraits engraved after Titian." Having thus disposed of the attribution to the great Venetian, Piesse proceeded in his search for the Italian painter who was capable of painting such a portrait and likely to have been its author, and he naturally hit upon Calcar as his inevitable choice. He worded his conclusion, however, with caution: "It may be admitted, *ex hypothesi*, as the work of Calcar," for he went on to say

* See Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

† See Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 313. And see, "PORTRAITS UNTRACED," *infra*.

‡ See L. Piesse: *La Médecine et les Médecins*, 1857. Vol. II, p. 332



Attributed to CALCAR
In the Académie de Médecine
PARIS

that the picture may be not an original by the Fleming but a copy. This view may, under reserve, be allowed, but it is impossible to accept his opinion that there is a great analogy "if not complete resemblance" between the features and those in the Woodcut in the *Fabrica*. The bare statement suggests to the reader's mind that the author was trusting to a treacherous memory.

It is long since the attribution to Titian was championed, and almost as long since the claim was dropped by the majority. It is interesting to observe that the real reason for its rejection was the desire to establish the Paris picture as the original (yet another "original"!) of the *Fabrica* Woodcut.* On the other hand, Dr. E. Turner—he who read so incorrectly the initials on the ring in the so-called portrait of Vesalius by Calcar in the Louvre Museum, which we are about to consider—declared that the picture in the Académie is the "finished copy" of the Woodcut.† By this ambiguous expression he may possibly have meant to say "the original"—the word "copy" having two opposite meanings.

The reason why neither opinion can be adopted will presently be given. At the same time, it must be recognized that the fundamental divergencies are in this case somewhat less than in that of the Royal College of Physicians portrait, which, it will be remembered, has equally with this been claimed as the original of the *Fabrica* Woodcut, and which has even been pronounced the original of the painting at the Académie de Médecine.

How, one may wonder, can such an argument seriously be maintained? In the London picture the head is almost full-face, while in that at Paris it is three-quarters. This alone, if for no other reason, is sufficient to reject the hypothesis of a "copy." A copyist copies; he does not redraw.

In truth this fine portrait is no copy; it is an original, done from nature, by a painter of undoubted ability. There are bad bits—very bad bits—such as the right hand, the ear, the fall of the robe at the left; but these ineptitudes are certainly due to deplorable "restoration."

The present condition of the picture is lamentable: the canvas has been burst in at least three places and the repairs have been effected with extreme negligence—they have been simply cobbled. And there are retouchings, such as the green repainting on the elbow, of quite unusual crudeness and stupidity.

* See, Desgenettes, in *Biographie Médicale*, VII, 422; and Roth, *op. cit.* p. 447.

† See, *Gazette hebdomadaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie*, 1877, p. 471; and Roth, *ibidem*.

In its rich and massive frame, fixed in the overmantel at the end of the beautiful little chamber known as the "Salle du Conseil," the picture is in effect extremely handsome in spite of the lateral window illumination which does it little justice. So living a portrait is it that if it were really a likeness of Vesalius it would—from the pictorial point of view—do honour to the father of modern anatomy. The quiet gaze is full of dignity, the expression sad to melancholy, the character forceful. The hair is glossy, straight, and silky, and not curly (as in the *Fabrica*), and it is brushed forward into a point in the middle of the forehead, otherwise than in the College of Physicians picture. The figure is life-size and standing—presenting a three-quarters view. He wears a very dark green robe with a small white ruffled collar tied with a golden cord. The attitude is easy, with the back of the right wrist resting on the hip*; the left arm leans upon a Roman sarcophagus, as it appears to be, of marble or alabaster, sculptured in relief, on which accessory are seen the figurines of two men (or a man and a woman) engaged in some kind of struggle. These, in all probability, are no invention of the artist, but are copied from an existing model. The left hand, the third finger of which displays a fine ruby, holds a pair of gloves—a detail which is little suggestive of a man such as Vesalius. On the right hangs a green curtain against a fawn-coloured background of a soft, clear tone.

There is neither signature nor inscription. The design on the sarcophagus—or altar—suggests neither anatomist nor doctor, unless the symbolism of strife is intended to be indicative of Vesalius's career, in which case it hopelessly misses its mark. Why should this piece of antiquity figure in a portrait of Vesalius? Why these figurines, introduced as incongruously as the Venus and Cupid in the portrait of the Museo Civico in Padua—and what connection have they anyway with a man of science? They are all very well in portraits such as Tischbein's picture of Goethe in the Staedel Institute at Frankfort—but in the likeness of an anatomist! We are impelled to ask, as in the case of the portraits at Padua, Vienna, and Munich, whether the person represented is not rather an antiquary, an archæologist, or a collector.

There is here extremely little resemblance to the *Fabrica* Woodcut. The skull is much smaller, and lacks the spherical form distinctive of the other; the transversal diameter of the face is less, the frontal

* With regard to this hand, the reader is referred to our remarks on the picture of the Royal College of Physicians.

prominences are not so protuberant; the eyebrows are placed higher above the orbits, the hair is very different, as has already been stated. The nose is straight and not concave, nor is it tilted; the direction of the moustache is not horizontal but angular falling sharply from the median line. The ear is considerably larger. All allowances made for the passage of a few years, it is impossible to imagine differences so radical in two portraits of the same man; and yet these two portraits—that at Paris and that in the *Fabrica* are claimed to be essentially one and the same! Reconciliation here is out of all question.

The photographing of a picture hung in so ill-suited a light has presented the greatest difficulties; we are therefore the more indebted to Dr. Camus and to Professor Gley to whose efforts and to whose courtesy we owe this photograph. Our thanks are the more cordial because this interesting and much talked of work is known to the public only through the medium of engraving, such as the little rendering in steel which des Hauvents made of it for the collection of *Portraits et Histoire des Hommes utiles*;* and even that engraving, inaccurate enough, presents only the bust of the sitter.

12. BRUSSELS.

ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE MÉDECINE DE BELGIQUE.

By EUGÈNE DEVAUX (1822-1914). Belgian School.

On canvas. Dimensions: 51¼ in. by 37¾ in. (130 cm. × 96 cm.).

Inscription: EUGÈNE DEVAUX

P. 1845

From the point of view of authority alone, this large canvas has no interest because it has frankly been inspired by the portrait in Paris, last described.

Devaux belonged to the Belgian School. He painted this picture in 1845 in the manner characteristic of his School and period.† In technique it is thin, smooth, rather hard, but marked by unusual excellence of craftsmanship. We cannot but admire the correctness, skill, and spirit of the draughtsmanship, seen at its best in the rendering of the hands,

* *Société Montyon et Franklin*: Paris, 1833-1834.

† For details concerning the commission of the picture and the gift of it to the Académie in 1846, see the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Médecine de Belgique*, Vol. V (1st series), p. 731.

draperies and accessories, and the brilliancy of the brushwork, within its limits. There is unfortunately less to praise as regards the head, the execution of which is below the level of the rest of the picture.

It is a mistake to suppose that, as has usually been stated, the portrait is a "copy" of that at the Académie de Médecine of Paris. It is an adaptation. The artist inspired himself merely by the original (of which, it is true, he really was expected to make a copy) and allowed himself the utmost licence in the arrangement: not only has he introduced alterations in every detail and modified the general design, but he has endowed the head with a different shape, and the features with an unauthorized angularity while still retaining a measure of similitude. Wherefore, a different person stands before us; and the result is not so much a strained interpretation as a self-declared paraphrase.

Instead of full-face the view given is more than three-quarters, almost indeed in profile, turned to the right. The robe is not green but black. A small ruff, instead of a pleated collar secured by a cord, encircles the neck. The palm of the right hand, instead of the back of the wrist, rests upon the hip. The left hand is placed upon an open book, instead of on a sculptured sarcophagus—an absurdity against which the painter wisely revolted; the folio book, doubtless meant for the *Fabrica*, lies upon a table beside a skull.* It is all admirably conceived, but absolutely heterodox. The ring is on the third finger of the right hand, instead of the left. The gloves have disappeared. The Paris antiquary has become the Brussels anatomist. The curtain in the background is brown instead of green.

* It is curious that this modern picture is the only one of all the portraits, real or alleged, of Vesalius in which there has been introduced the very obvious medical symbol of a skull. The reader may be reminded, however, that a skull shown in a portrait-picture has several distinct symbolical significations. (1) In the first place, as here, it betokens the medical profession—as, for example, in the small picture attributed to Joos van Cleef (c. 1520-1556—the contemporary of Vesalius) which is inscribed: "Año. 1555, Robert Brommell, Maister of Svrgerie." (2) It may mean that the portrait represents a philosopher, whose thoughts are concerned with none but grave and solemn matters. An example may be seen in the portrait in the National Gallery, originally attributed in error to Holbein; or (3) that the portrait is a posthumous one, the skull then being a simple "*memento mori*"—as in the large bizarre double recumbent figure-piece in the Dulwich Gallery; or (4) that the sitter is at his devotions, piously contemplating the end of all flesh, especially his own—as in the innumerable portraits of St. Jerome and scores of others; or (5) in figurative contrast to the Resurrection—in which intention it is usually placed at the foot of the Cross in pictures of the Crucifixion; or (6) lastly, that the sitter has lately recovered from a severe illness. In this case the skull is usually represented in miniature—as, for example, placed in the heart of a rose, in the beautiful portrait of an Italian gentleman in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.



By EUGENE DEVAUX
In the Académie royale de Médecine
BRUSSELS

All these changes are obviously intentional, except, presumably, those made in the head. The artist has sought to realize a doctor of the period in appropriate surroundings, but for authority as to the person represented he has shown little respect. The head is even less round than that in the Paris portrait; the skull is flatter, the forehead more perpendicular—closer, therefore, to that in the picture belonging to the Royal College of Physicians. The hair is less pointed on the forehead, the beard fuller on the cheeks and rounder. The face has been lengthened and thinned to a distressing extreme of asceticism in aspect. The cheeks are hollow and the bones project in excess; the nose is long, narrow and sharply pointed, and less straight than in the Paris picture; the lower lip is heavy, and is pushed forward in a manner characteristic of the Spanish Bourbons. It is a southern type of face, Italian or Spanish, with a touch of dignity in the features beyond what we find in the original. It is the portrait of a saddened man, kindly enough perhaps, and undoubtedly a sincere penitent. It will be seen, therefore, that the painter's enthusiasm was divided between what he considered sufficient respect to the Paris picture and loyalty to the Vésale of Belgium.

This series of three paintings—in London, Paris and Brussels—is commonly regarded as worthily representing homage to Vesalius, which in truth is more remarkable for sentiment than for accuracy. It is feared that those who contemplate the pictures exhibited in the three great centres of medical science are commonly moved more by vague tradition than by that sound criticism and healthy scepticism with which judgment should always be armed.

13. PARIS.

THE LOUVRE. (No. 1185 in the Catalogue. Formerly No. 1243, and later, No. 1873. Exhibited in the Grande Galerie. In the Louis XIV Collection.)

By JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR.

On canvas. Dimensions: 43 in. by $34\frac{5}{8}$ in. (109.2 cm. × 88 cm.).

Inscription, on the base of the column: ANNO .1549^o

ÆTATIS .26.

[In light-coloured lettering delicately outlined in black.]

On the column is suspended a Coat of Arms.

Until the beginning of the 18th century this picture was attributed to "Jean Van Calcard" *; but in 1754 Tintoretto was accepted as the

* See Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 447, and the successive catalogues of the Louvre Gallery.

author, and his name was retained for nearly a century. In 1849 the attribution was restored to "Jo. Stephan van Kalkar," Titian's distinguished pupil and admirable imitator. The official description no longer claims the portrait to be that of Vesalius; it is now given as a "Giovanni Calcar, 1510-1546 (Venetian School)." "Portrait of a Young Man," and, alternatively, "Portrait of a Man Unknown."

It might have been expected that an important portrait so fully provided with evidence—the witness of the inscription and the armorial bearings—would have afforded indisputable knowledge as to the identity of the person represented. This, however, is not the case. As regards the inscription, which I have examined with care, I can affirm that above the first line there were at some time other words—possibly a name—which by accident or design have been obliterated. Traces of letters, sufficient to prove this assertion but too vague for identification, can still be seen.*

In any case, and in default of the inscription now no longer decipherable, we have at least apparently firm ground on which to proceed to the identification of the "sitter," in so far as we may depend on the testimony of experts in the science and art of Heraldry: that is to say, the evidence of the coat of arms. Apart from those who insist on the acceptance-at-any-price of the portrait as that of Vesalius, inquirers will regard the evidence, *primâ facie*, as offering a degree of certainty, more especially as the arms are twice repeated in the picture. On this point, the statement in the Catalogue seems to be decisive and definitive: "On the column, the escutcheon of the del Buono family of Venice: three golden poppy-heads on an azure field. The same arms, surmounted by the letters M.V.B. are repeated on the mounted stone of the ring worn by the personage represented."

As to this "del Buono family," I have not succeeded in verifying the assertion of the earlier edition of the Louvre Catalogue—an industriously-compiled handbook which, owing to its notorious inaccuracy, has had an unenviable reputation. The del Buono family finds no mention in Litta's great work: *Famiglie celebri di Italia*,† or in its much later Supplement, nor in the numerous histories of Venice which I have consulted, particularly in Sansovino's excellent *Venetia, città nobilissima et sig-*

* In the older photographs by Braun of Paris of this picture, these traces are plainly visible though not quite decipherable: in the more "artistic" photographs of recent days, the traces are almost lost in photographers' "tone" and "quality."

† Milan, 1819, etc.—9 vols.



By CALCAR
In the Louvre Museum
PARIS

(Photograph by Alinari)

norali (1581); this has an index of all the names, but that of "del Buono" is not included. (It is possible that the family lived in Venice without being natives of the city.) As to books of general biography, only two del Buonos appear, brothers who lived in the seventeenth century. The extensive and specialist National Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum affords no assistance. What renders the case more peculiar is that in that astonishing publication: *Armoiries des Familles contenues dans l'Armorial Général de J. B. Rietstap** (Paris, 1903-9), of which the first three volumes have appeared, the del Buono family is entirely ignored—yet the section A-B contains not fewer than 19,920 escutcheons of known families, even of those relatively obscure. At the same time the shield of the *Von Brauweiler* family is figured there, which in design, though not in tincture, is identical with that of the alleged del Buonos (three poppy heads on a golden field, and two above—plate CCCVIII.) as shown in the Louvre picture.†

How the partisans of the del Buono theory meet the difficulty of the initials on the ring does not clearly appear. These initials must play so great a part in the solution of the problem that it is hardly surprising that they, too, have formed the subject of lively argument and of point-blank contention. In 1867 Dr. Charles Blanc declared, respecting these initials "it is not an A but an M, and the letters signify 'Magister Vesalius Bruxellensis'"—an ingenious conclusion truly! Ten years later Dr. E. Turner‡ agreed with Dr. Blanc that the picture certainly represents Vesalius in spite of the fact that he read the initials differently. Dr. Turner—whom Henry Hymans rather superciliously disparaged as "*un touriste anglais*"—brought such enthusiasm to his task that he was unable to read the initials otherwise than as A.V.B., whence "*Andreas Vesalius Bruxelleusis*," instead of M.V.B.

These initials are drawn very minutely, very distinctly, and are easily decipherable with a lens. Nevertheless others blundered besides Turner: Villot, for example, read "N.V.B." The letters are in gold, finely

* *Armorial général contenant la description des Armoiries des Familles nobles et patriciennes de l'Europe*, 1861, etc.

† Rietstap's work mentions the *del Bono* family of Bologna, but their arms are totally different from those under consideration.

‡ See Dr. E. Turner: *Gazette hebdomadaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie*, 1877, 30; also *Le Portrait d'André Vésale au Musée du Louvre*, etc., Paris, 8vo. Henry Hymans affirmed in the same journal, 13 July, 1877: "a simple examination with a lens enables one to assure oneself that the statement [of Dr. Blanc as to the initials] is inaccurate and that the first letter is certainly an A."

bordered in black—like the characters of the inscription on the base of the column—and they stand forth from a red ground, above the three poppy-heads inverted. I have made a very careful examination—(means having been courteously afforded me by the authorities)—and I can assert that the “M.V.B.” is too evident to admit of discussion or challenge. It must therefore be assumed that when the various errors here recorded were made, the picture was in a dirty state and that the initials only became distinct after subsequent cleaning. (It is rather odd that in the copy of the picture at Christ Church, Oxford, the ring appears to exhibit “W 70” above, and below, an S with two marks at present undecipherable). Any hypothesis of retouching on the Louvre picture cannot, I think, be sustained. Dr. Streckeizen long ago declared the first letter to be an M, and after him Dr. Roth expressed a like view. There is here no sign of restoration.

But Dr. Turner was not to be dissuaded from his foredrawn conclusion by so trifling a consideration as obvious fact. He was not in the least disconcerted by the presence of the armorial bearings which represents three poppy-heads instead of three weasels. We know that since the date of the *Fabrica* and the “*Epitome*” down to the present day the escutcheon of Vesalius is presented as charged with three weasels,* and that he himself speaks of them as “*meæ mustelæ*.” But that is ignored in the interests of the argument, in the face of known and indisputable facts. Dr. Turner blandly retorts that the three weasels [derived of course from Vesalius’s ancestral Wiesel] were not in the arms of Vesalius at all †—for poppy-heads are poppy-heads, and Vesalius’s father was an apothecary! ‡

There would be no occasion to detain the reader over this amusing piece of futility were it not that others have given it serious attention. Henry Hymans gravely accepted it; and the late Dr. Daniëls of

* *Epist. Chyu.* 107. See also, Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 2.

† In the case of the Christ Church copy the artist has cut the knot still more neatly; he just suppressed both arms and inscription. So, too, in the copy formerly (1917) belonging to Sir George Donaldson, and in that now (1924) in the possession of Dr. Harvey Cushing of Boston, Mass. By this Cæsarean operation all question of del Buono or of Von Brauweiler is skilfully removed from the body of the discussion.

‡ It may be noted that Fürer ab Hainendorff, in his description of the epitaph of Vesalius, says that above it are “three yellow greyhounds.” (*Reisenbeschreibung in Egypten*, 1646). Excuse for the statement is to be seen in the engraved title-page of the *Fabrica* of 1543, where the weasels are badly drawn and do indeed resemble greyhounds, a defect that was remedied in the second edition. The misinterpretation is a common one; but it takes a genuine talent for misapprehension to mistake weasels for poppy-heads.

Amsterdam—an inquirer, as we have seen, over-disposed to welcome conjecture as reality—admitted the hypothesis that the portrait represents a man (whom however he rejects as Vesalius) who “was probably an apothecary.” M. Louis Hourticq* goes further: “the poppy-heads,” he says, “are the *armes parlantes* † of a surgeon who probably anæsthetized his patients.” But how, then, does he account for the knightly casque?

On reading this odd surmise one wonders if we have returned to the good old times when it was believed that the Medicis were in origin doctors (witness the name!) because their shield is charged with balls which were accepted by the multitude as heraldic pills. Yet such is the argument on which Dr. Daniëls and his supporters proposed to base the identification of the portrait with Vesalius. The argument that surgeons sent their patients to sleep with poppy-heads and successfully kept them asleep under the surgeon’s knife, is debatable enough: if true opium, alcohol, or even mandrake-juice had been called in to the aid of M. Hourticq’s contention, it would not have been so doubtful. Roth himself, who in his masterly biography takes courteous note of all opinions, with an admirable sense of indulgence and respect—to which they often have little enough claim—dismisses these interpretations as fantastic “and pushed to an extreme.”

While narcotics as anæsthetics have been in use since ancient times, and are recorded since Homer wrote of nepenthe and Chinese and classic writers told of Indian hemp and *mandragora* for inducing sleep—assisting both patient and surgeon—the poppy, broadly speaking, seems to have been identified by the people with *sleep*, and the mandrake with *insensibility*. Our early English drama reflects this belief, and still more the greater power of the admixture of the two. Thus in Marlowe’s

* See, Louis Hourticq, Inspecteur des Beaux Arts de la Ville de Paris: *Les Tableaux du Louvre*, Paris.[1913.]

† M. Hourticq presumably had confused in his mind the passage in Lafenestre and Richtenberger’s catalogue of the Louvre: “. . . mais l’écusson qui orne le *Traité anatomique* de ce savant se composant de ses *armes parlantes*, trois belettes, cette désignation [de Vésale] ne peut être maintenue.” Nevertheless, M. Hourticq rather recklessly declares: “the portrait is that of André Vésale; the dates, the initials coincide with those of the illustrious anatomist. Calcar had illustrated his treatise on Anatomy, and at the head of the book appears the same design.” Such an astounding misunderstanding of the facts is incomprehensible save on the ground that he was unaware that the modern identification with Vesalius had been abandoned; that he never examined the picture; and that he never saw the *Fabrica*, about which he speaks.

Rich Jew of Malta (1589) Barabas recounts how he escaped from massacre :

“ I drank of poppy, and cold mandrake juice,
And being asleep, belike they thought me dead
And threw me o'er the walls.”

Shakespeare makes use of them, too. In *Othello* (1602) Iago apostrophizes the Moor :

“ Not Poppy, nor Mandragora,
Nor all the drowsie Syrrups of the world
Shall euer medicine thee to that sweete sleepe
Which thou owd'st yesterday.”

And in *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1608) the Egyptian Queen cries—

“ Giue me to drinke *Mandragora* . . .
That I might sleepe out this great gap of time :
My *Anthony* is away.”

In 1623, too, in Webster's *Duchess of Malty*, before the lady, her waiting-woman, and her children irregularly engendered, are all strangled by order of her offended brothers, the Duchess calmly says—

“ Come, violent Death,
Serve for mandragora to make me sleep.”

Henry Lyte in his translation of Rembert Dodoens in 1587 dealt seriously with the mandrake and its use in surgery. The description given was borrowed and somewhat amplified by Edward Blount in his *Glossographia* (1656) wherein he says :

“ This root, especially its bark, is extreemly cold and dry, even to the fourth degree. It is therefore very dangerous to receive inwardly, for that the least quantity too much, will quickly kill a man. Chyrurgeons use to steep this root in Wine, and give it to be drunk by such as they must cut, saw, or burn in any part; for its cold operation causeth sleep, and makes the body insensible for a time. . . .”

Lyte's description was quickly taken up by the playwrights, as, for example, in the extremely popular “pleasant conceited Comedie” *How a man may chuse a good Wife from a bad* (1602). Here, Maister Fuller, finding love-sick Aminadab hopeless, despairing, and crying aloud for death, determines to give him a powder (wherewith he may seek, but in vain, to commit suicide), and whispers to his friend Anselm :

“ Ile fit him finely : in this paper is
 The Iuice of Mandrake, by a Doctor made
 To cast a man whose leg should be cut off,
 Into a deep, a cold and senceles sleepe,
 Of such approued operation,
 That who so takes it, is for twice twelue houres
 Breathlesse, and to all mens iudgements past all sence :
 This will I give the pedant but in sport. . . .”

Later, when the powder has gone astray and has been used to “poison” the heroine, Fuller sets things right by explaining in the Law Court—

“ That compound powder was of Poppy made and Mandrakes,
 Of purpose to cast one into a sleepe,
 To ease the deadly paine of him whose legge
 Should be sawd off, that powder gaued I to the Schoolmaister.”

And again, Thomas Middleton (1570-1627) :—

“ I’ll imitate the pity of old surgeons
 To this lost limb, who, ere they show their art,
 Cast one asleep, then cut the diseased part.”

But the same dramatist, when he would speak of a sedative, a soporific, only, drops mandragora and opium, and falls back on the simple poppy.

Thus, in *The Changeling* :—

“ *Diaphanta* : A little poppy, Sir, were good to cause you sleep.
Jasperino : Poppy ? . . . poppy is one simple indeed.”

As a matter of fact, poppy-heads have nothing whatever to do with either Vesalius or his escutcheon. The three weasels appearing on the shield displayed on the title-page of the *Fabrica* were his official and only “bearings,” or “charges.” Definitive proof of this is afforded by the early seventeenth-century document, richly emblazoned in gold and colours on parchment, setting forth the pedigree of the Van Hamme family from 1325 to 1616 (with additions; the document is signed and countersigned, September 1596). The shield of Vesalius appears here twice : the first time, on his marriage—“*Anna van Hamme . . . met doctor Vesalius*”; and the second time, on the marriage of his daughter—“*Anna Vesalius . . . met Jo. Jan de Mol*” (who was officer or bailiff to the Prince in Brussels). Here we see, impaled, *dexter*, the crest of the Mol family, and *sinister*, the three weasels (*mustela*) “at speed,” of Anna Vesalius’s father, who was already dead.

For this important testimony, which brings finality with it, I am indebted to the Comte d'Arschot,* the owner of this interesting document, who has kindly placed it at my disposal. The colours have greatly darkened.

There remains to be considered the matter of the date and age, as these appear in the inscription. At first sight, no doubt, the agreement between the two is impressive; yet it can hardly be maintained that



From the Armorial Shield of Vesalius in the Heraldic Genealogical Record of the Family of van Hamme (1325-1616). (By courtesy of the Comte d'Arschot of Brussels).

Vesalius was the only man of twenty-six who had his portrait painted in the year 1540—wherefore the coincidence carries no finality of acceptance with it.† Moreover, if Roth's contention is true—he him-

* M. le Comte d'Arschot, Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire; Chef du Cabinet du Roi.

† It was by a parallel reasoning that Dr. Ludwig Becker of Darmstadt sought with pathetic insistence to establish the genuineness of the so-called "Death-mask of Shakespeare" which was "discovered" in Germany in a rag-and-bottle shop—partly because it bears some resemblance to an unauthentic portrait of the poet ["the Janssen Portrait"], and partly, but mainly, because it bears the year of his death: as if he were the only man who died in Europe in 1616. Yet Sir Richard Owen fervently believed in it, as well as in other quite contradictory alleged portraits of Shakespeare.

self claimed to have established the fact without possibility of disproof—that Vesalius was born, not on the 31st of December, 1514, but on the 1st of January, 1515, the inscription “Anno 1540 Ætatis 26,” would give the lie to the picture as a portrait of the anatomist.

The escutcheon is embellished with a richly floreated mantling, and above the “Noble’s helm,” partly masking the attachments to the hook in the column from which the shield is swung, two tendrils rise and, curving over, interlace; and from their ends, within the circle so formed, hang two more poppy-heads inverted, one from each. This constitutes, practically, the heraldic crest. In the case of the finger-ring, the three poppy-heads upon it leave but little space, and that at the extreme top, for the little straight band—the “chief” of heraldry—on which the fatal initials “M.V.B.” are inscribed.

It has been suggested that the armorial shield, together with the inscription on the plinth, may be subsequent additions. If this were so their non-appearance upon the copies, next to be noticed, would be accounted for. No doubt there are precedents which lend colour to the argument. For example, the shield hung upon a tree in the so-called portrait of Mary of Lorraine (mother of Mary, Queen of Scots) in the National Portrait Gallery in London is now allowed to be such an addition, although perhaps an early one. This can scarcely apply to the present case. A close examination of the picture shows that all the parts that should throw shadows do so correctly—the hook, suspension-strings, tendrils, and the right-hand mass of the shield itself—and that those shadows melt as they should into the pigment of the surrounding lights and shadows of the column background. This would hardly be so complete in the case of subsequent work.

The portrait presents the standing figure of a youngish man, clad in a magnificent Titianesque costume of black damask or stamped velvet—in style and pattern resembling in some degree the doublet of the Vesalius of the *Fabrica*—with ample if not bombasted sleeves, pleated or strapped, and purplish in colour—drawn in at the waist by a narrow sword-belt from which hangs a richly-hilted sword. He leans his right arm upon the projecting ledge of the column’s base; the hand grasps a folded document showing no inscription, but sealed in blank with an indication of three protuberances which may be meant for poppy-heads. The left hand, the extended fingers of which displayed the two, or perhaps three, rings—the seal-ring* on the index

* Formed apparently of two rings crossed and interlocked—apparently a ‘gimmel-ring’; possibly, however, a large ring and a small one. The three copies show a similar ring on the

finger, and the two others on the little finger, rests upon the hip. A small collar, slightly ruffled and more than half concealed, encircles the neck. The carnations of the flesh are roseate; the hair auburn to brown, glossy, short, and smooth without a trace of curliness; the beard inclining to auburn; the forehead rather low. The expression is contemplative, almost melancholy. This young man is capable of great energy, no doubt, on occasion, for there is indication of power; but he is above all a philosopher, a poet and dreamer, an aristocrat and man of refinement, although, as the heavy mouth indicates, a good deal of a sensualist.

Compare this so-called Vesalius with him of the *Fabrica*—the man of science, keen and healthy, confident and self-reliant, lively and gay in expression almost to playfulness, strong in character, a fighter and a redoubtable adversary, intelligent and incisive, and too much of a realist and too *bon bourgeois* to trouble much about poetry or aristocracy. Weigh these characteristics against those in the picture. Note, too, the eyebrows springing upwards from the nose, the drooping corners of the mouth, above all the skull rising to the back and relatively too small for the face as the head is too small for the body—and you realize how great is the difference both in type and form between this picture and the portrait, none too flattering, which Vesalius issued to the world to represent himself as he really was—a bullet-headed man, not elongated in face as in the picture—with a very high forehead and curly hair and with a great skull on a smallish body. The types are not merely different, but opposed. Yet both woodcut portrait and painting are by the same hand—that of a friend and collaborator of Vesalius.

Notwithstanding these patent facts, Henry Hymans tells us that he discovers here "*le point capital*"—a well-nigh perfect resemblance and "a striking analogy" between the painting and the Woodcut. That depends on how you approach the problem. He even declares that the painting preceded the engraving, implicitly suggesting that the portrait is authentic and original. Roth, on the other hand, can trace no likeness between the two. This is going too far, but I agree with his final verdict if not with his summing-up. There is nothing to justify the

index-finger: the Donaldson copy is the only one which gives but a single hoop on the little finger. In all cases the signet-ring aims at suggesting the three poppy-heads. *And observe*: if it be really a gimmel-ring—about which there can scarcely be a doubt—the implication is that the wearer was a married man. But not until four years after this date (1540) did Vesalius take a wife. He married Anne van Hamme in September, 1544.

contention that the picture is the original of the *Fabrica* drawing. Nor is there anything in it to show that it is intended for Vesalius or for any other anatomist or man of science. Moreover, if Calcar really painted this picture (of a knightly youth—surgeon and anatomist?) in 1540, only two years before having drawn the *Fabrica* likeness, the striking differences which have been pointed out and which are for the most part fundamental, can with difficulty be accounted for as a change in a young, healthy, and happy man within so short a space of time. Are we to suppose that the illegitimate assumption of the coat-of-arms weighed upon his conscience, and told upon his vitality?

Since the year 1908 the question has assumed quite another aspect consequent on P. Kristeller's declaration that the portrait represents in fact none other than Melchior von Brauweiler ("M.V.B."). There was, in truth, nothing new in the pronouncement, for M. Michel had made it before—and even he was not the first.* This "discovery" was not generally known or recognized in England until 1916, when Dr. Tancred Borenius issued his Catalogue, *Pictures by the Old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*. In this catalogue the distinguished critic re-christens, without any fuss, the disputed Vesalius-del Buono portrait, "Melchior von Brauweiler, Burgomaster of Cologne,"† taking of course no credit for the innovation. The fact is that the identification is to be found in the work of the well-known German genealogical writer, A. Fahne,‡ published fifty years before. Kristeller re-advanced it. Fahne is an independent witness whose depositions seem at first rather to complicate the question, while in truth they simplify it and come near to solving the problem.

Thus in 1853—fourteen years before it had occurred to anybody to endow the Louvre picture with Vesalius's name—Fahne published his second volume, having already, five years earlier, in his first part, reproduced the armorial bearings of the von Brauweiler family of Cologne. On page 17 of his second volume appears the following entry: "BRAUWEILER. A fine portrait of a member of this family, probably of Melchior, painted by Tintoretto, is now in Paris in the Louvre. It

*The latest convert to this opinion is Heer J. G. De Lint in his *Iets over de Portretten van Vesalius*. Amsterdam, 2 Jan., 1915.

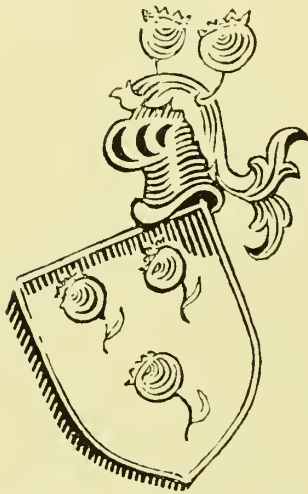
† See *infra*. The Oxford picture is the next to be considered.

‡ A. Fahne: *Geschichte der Kölnischen, Julichschen, und Bergischen Geschlechter einschließlich der neben ihnen anfüssig gewesen Clevischen, Geldrischen und Moerischen in Stammlafeln, Wappen, Siegeln und Urkunden*. Köln und Bonn. I. M. Heberle (Heinrich Lempertz). Vol. I, 1848; Vol. II, 1853.

exhibits the coat-of-arms, with the date 1548, aet. 48 (No. 1243 of the catalogue)."

He here makes a judicious reservation as to the identity of the person represented — "*probably* of Melchior." Dr. Borenius has no such hesitation but adopts the name, while rejecting, as was inevitable, the attribution to Tintoretto.

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Arms of the von Brauweiler family of Cologne. (From Fahne, 1853, slightly reduced.)

There is no importance in the disagreement of the Catalogue number as given by Fahne (which in his day was correct) because it has been the practice of the Museum to change the numbers when the pictures are re-arranged. A more serious matter is the disparity in respect of both date and age. We may choose our explanation: whether the traces of a previous inscription which has been noted* may tell some tale; whether the discrepancy in the date ("1548" for "1540") is not caused by the suppression, whether intentional or not, of the lower loop of the 8, leaving the zero in the air; whether the substitution of the "48" for "26" is the result of Fahne misinterpreting his notes, or being misled by the blunder of some copyist of the Louvre catalogue. This matter must be left where it is; but it must not be forgotten that Fahne's book gives all the signs of care and accuracy.

Less difficulty is offered by the arms: a "shield *penché*" (or "*couché*") charged with three poppy-heads, surmounted by a "noble's helm" and above it, as a crest, two more poppy-heads—which in the Louvre picture hang down, interlaced for artistic effect—stand proudly erect on their stalks. Apart from this unimportant detail the two armorial bearings, as has been said, are identical. Unless the mysterious del Buono family unceremoniously annexed their coat-of-arms, officially recognized as belonging to the already ancient family of Cologne, their claim to any connexion with the picture can in no wise be allowed.

Chronology seems to point to Melchior as the von Brauweiler of the

*At the time I was studying the picture I was not yet aware of the presumption of identification with von Brauweiler.

We are here faced with another task which, in default of further biographical facts and dates, can scarcely be carried to a satisfactory conclusion. It is obviously necessary to prove that Melchior von Brauweiler and Calcar came together in the year 1540. And as we know that Calcar was deeply engaged in his unremitting labours in Venice at the time, and so could not have absented himself, we must show that Melchior was present in that city, for Calcar to paint him. It is likely enough that he went there soon after his marriage (witness the gimmel-ring he wears), and that he sat to the brilliant portraitist then in the height of his fame. For if he remained at home in Cologne where, seeing that he was only twenty-six, he probably had not yet arrived at the dignity of Stadgraf, we are bound to look elsewhere for the painter of this portrait.

To conclude. If, as appears certain, the coat-of-arms is an original embellishment of the picture, and not a subsequent addition, it is difficult, if not impossible, to resist the von Brauweiler identification, although the man's type approximates to the Italian rather than to the German. If it be an addition, the person represented may be a del Buono (if such there was) or any other gentleman "of the better sort" beyond suspicion of being either a professor or a man of science, even a man of such world-wide renown as was Vesalius. The knightly helmet alone seems to dismiss any claim on behalf of the apothecary's son, apart from any other considerations, whether relating to inscription, or to the copies of the picture now to be described.

This picture has been extremely well reproduced in the plate etched by E. Bocourt for *L'Art* in 1883. Our reproduction is from a photograph by E. Alinari, with the consent of the Medici Society of London.

14. OXFORD.

CHRIST CHURCH LIBRARY, University of Oxford. (No. 201 in the Catalogue, 1916.)

Formerly attributed to TINTORETTO; now described as a Copy of CALCAR.

On canvas. Dimensions: 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (91 cm. \times 75 cm.).

This picture is a copy of that by Calcar in the Louvre Museum [*q.v.*], and accordingly represents the same person. The canvas is less in height by 6 in., and in width by 5 in.; and it has been lined. Knowledge of its *provenance* goes no further back than 1765, at which date the picture came into the possession of the premier College along



In the Library (Picture Gallery)
Christ Church
OXFORD

with the large collection of pictures contained in the bequest of General Guise.

It was then, and until our own day, attributed to Tintoretto. In the catalogue of the collection printed in 1834, it is described as "5. Portrait. (Jacopo Robusti) Tintoretto"; but this catalogue had been for many years notorious for its deficiencies and for being "full of absurd attributions," when, in 1916, it was superseded by the serious and worthy compilation produced by Dr. Tancred Borenius.

As the connexion between the Louvre and Christ Church pictures was not open to doubt, it was obvious that when the attribution to Tintoretto was withdrawn in Paris it could no longer be sustained in Oxford. The question then arose whether Calcar was the author of both works. At Oxford it was not admitted that the Christ Church picture was a copy of the other, for no direct comparison had yet been made; but, as was inevitable, knowledge and reason in due time prevailed, and a complete surrender followed, as is seen in Dr. Borenius's description in his catalogue: "No. 201 Calcar (copy after). Portrait of Melchior von Brauweiler, Burgomaster of Cologne . . . Probably identical with the 'Portrait of a Venetian nobleman by Titian' mentioned in the A. Catalogue, p. 10, and the 1833 Cat., No. 38. Copy after the picture by Calcar in the Louvre (No. 1185) without the coat-of-arms and the inscription 'Anno 1540, ætat. 26,' occurring in the original. The sitter has formerly been wrongly identified with Andreas Vesalius, or else a member of the del Buono family of Venice." The picture is included in the Venetian, not the Flemish, school.

In development of this summary judgment, reasons may perhaps be given to show why the contention in favour of the Oxford picture has been completely abandoned; even at the cost of repetition of certain of the arguments set forth in our observations on the Louvre picture.

No competent critic will admit for a moment that the portrait in the Louvre is a copy. Handling and touch at once so broad and free, so delicate and masterly; modelling so subtle and complete; expression at once so noble and lifelike, prove to every expert eye that the portrait was painted from life. This fact will be disputed by no one who has studied the picture. We have already seen that the portrait represents not Vesalius but, conceivably, a young noble 26 years of age, a scion of the Venetian house (as alleged) of the del Buonos, or, almost certainly, of that of the von Brauweiler family of Cologne. The reader needs but to be reminded that it was not until 1834 that the name of Vesalius was attached to the picture: witness the catalogue of that date.

If the Louvre picture is the original, the Christ Church portrait must be either a replica or a copy. A superficial comparison of the reproductions here given conveys the instant conviction that in drawing and execution the Oxford portrait is greatly inferior, and that in any case the two works cannot have come from the same hand. This picture is wholly lacking in the careful and searching modelling which is never absent from a portrait painted *ad vivum* executed by an artist of competence. But if it is a replica why is there the suppression of the arms and of the inscription giving all-important information concerning the sitter? And why have the letters (or other forms) upon the ring been bungled, as explained in the comments on the Louvre picture? If the picture is the original why was the Louvre version (to be presumed, for the purpose of the argument, as a replica or copy) alone invested with this documentary importance? We are faced with the fact that no one has ever challenged the originality and purity of the Louvre portrait and its accessories, but only the man's identity.

But if the Christ Church picture is not a replica it can only be a copy from which the painter has omitted the details of identification, expressly, perhaps, that it should never be mistaken for the original. How could it be otherwise? The technique is hard and tight in style; the drawing and modelling are devoid of sensibility and they are rendered with superficiality; the bony structure of head and hands, so admirable in the Louvre picture, is scarcely indicated; the expression is blank almost to inanity; and delicacy, sentiment, and character—which combined lend such subtle distinction to the original—have vanished or are hardly perceptible. These marks of inferiority are exactly what are to be expected in a second-rate copy.

This conclusion is corroborated by the presence of certain manifest faults. The draughtsmanship is weak in passages. The silhouette at the left edge of the forehead is too much indented, whereby the correct placing of the eye is compromised. Above all, the drawing of the head and hands confirms the judgment of mediocrity. At the same time it must be recognized that costume and accessories are by no means lacking in style and charm, nor even in excellence of colour and execution.

Thanks are due to the Authorities and the Librarian of Christ Church for permission to reproduce this picture which, it is believed, was photographed for the first time, for illustration here, by the Oxford University Press.



VENETIAN SCHOOL

Formerly in the Sir George Donaldson Museum, Hove

BRIGHTON

15. BRIGHTON (until 1918).

(Formerly in the Donaldson Museum at Hove—the late Sir George Donaldson's private Museum of Old English Furniture).

Venetian School [after the portrait by Calcar in the Louvre Museum, *q.v.*].

On canvas. Dimensions: 39 in. by 30 in. (99 cm. × 76 cm.).

This attractive picture, excellent in tone and in luminosity, was framed in a splendid Elizabethan over-mantel in the superb collection of old English furniture—of its kind incomparable, alike in quality and importance—which was formed by the discriminating expert and collector Sir George Donaldson, and by him thrown open to his friends and to the public. As the portrait was of the approximate dimensions required to fit his over-mantel Sir George purchased it in the year 1916 from an artist-dealer in Paris without regard to the person represented.* When, however, I pointed out to him that the picture is an old copy of that by Calcar in the Louvre, the fastidious collector instantly discarded it, and on June 3rd, 1918, the picture was sold at Christie's simply described as: "Venetian School. Portrait of a Gentleman, in a black dress with slashed sleeves." † No details of the picture's history prior to its acquisition by the Parisian painter are procurable.

This copy is taller by an inch or so than the Christ Church portrait, and is practically of the same width. In most respects it surpasses the other in technical quality, and is better as regards character and life. It is far more modern in feeling, doubtless dating from a period nearly a century later than the Louvre original. For while that and the Oxford, Glasgow Art Gallery, Fergusson (West Linton), and Harvey Cushing versions are products of Italian art, the Donaldson picture is obviously painted by a Flemish artist influenced by the School of Rubens, and a man of considerable ability.

16. BOSTON, MASS., U.S.A.

In the Collection of Dr. Harvey Cushing.

Formerly attributed to J. S. VAN CALCAR.

On canvas. Dimensions: 50 in. by 40 in. (127 cm. × 101.5 cm.).

In January, 1919, the late Sir William Osler, Bart., F.R.S., Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford, drew my attention

* It appears, nevertheless, that it has been subject to some further decurtation in order to adapt it to its frame.

† It was bought by Mr. H. Dykes, a fine-art dealer of Bond Street.

to yet another portrait of the Louvre type which had just come to his knowledge. Little enough of its history had been ascertainable. The picture had been acquired in the auction room about the year 1912 by an art-dealer of London, who sold it to Mr. R. R. Meyer Sée, best known as an expert on English pastel-painting and painters, as a "portrait of a Nobleman, by Calcari" [*sic*]. The latter disposed of it to Mr. Ernest Hockliffe, of Uppingham, by whom it had been discarded from his collection and sent in due course to Oxford for disposal.* There it was seen and was purchased by Dr. Harvey Cushing, of Boston, U.S.A., in whose possession it now is. It is well, indeed, that a reputable version of this celebrated and much-discussed work should find a home in America, where it may be seen by students and scholars.

This repetition of the Louvre picture is of special interest by reason of certain striking differences in detail—disagreements unimportant in themselves, but remarkable enough to render this version unique among the four. It is deeper than any of the rest, and thus shows a greater length of the standing figure: in height it exceeds the Louvre picture by about 8 inches, and the Christ Church and the Donaldson versions by about 6 inches more. The column—on which no arms appear—is *fluted*; its base varies in detail, and its perspective is in a measure corrected. Below there is no inscription. The sword-hilt shows more clearly and is touched with more definition, though with less brilliancy, than is the case in the other versions; and of course a greater length of the scabbard is disclosed. To other details it is not necessary to refer. The main peculiarities have suggested to one critic that evidence is here established in favour of this picture being the original of the four; but in that case we might expect that the other three would show a fluted column too. As to size, no conclusion can be drawn; for a copy is often expressly enlarged, or reduced, in order to fit a particular wall-panel, or frame, or to form a symmetrical pendant to a companion picture.

It is the greater excellence of the Louvre picture which defends that portrait against all claim to rivalry, to say nothing of superiority. As a matter of "pigment" pure and simple, this Boston picture follows that in the Louvre as regards the solidity of the painting in the figure, the head, and left hand; the right hand, however, together with the

* To Messrs. Ryman, of High Street, Oxford—to whom we are indebted for the photograph here reproduced.



Attributed to CALCAR
In the Possession of Dr. Harvey Cushing
BOSTON, U.S.A.

(By consent of Messrs. Ryman & Son, Oxford)

incorrectly-rendered shadow that it casts, is very poor, and is obviously a repaint done probably at least a century and more ago. It seems likely, indeed, that the whole of the left-hand portion of the picture—(the least important part: that is to say, the column and the hand, which are not from the same brush as the rest)—has been rather thinly painted in. Such an operation was probably rendered necessary through damage to the picture from an accident such as fire; small restorations occurring elsewhere in the surface, as if occasioned by the repair of blisters, suggest and justify the theory. It is good Italian or Italianate painting. The artistic merit of the greater part of the picture renders it a work of real interest; indeed, the mouth, in the representation of which the other copies—with the exception of that in the Glasgow Gallery picture—woefully fail, is an excellent reproduction of that in the original.

17. WEST LINTON, SCOTLAND.

SPITALHAUGH, PEEBLESHIRE. (Seat of the late Sir James Ranken Fergusson, Bart.)

Attributed to TITIAN.

On canvas. Dimensions: 40½ in. by 33 in. (103 cm. × 84 cm.).

Inscription. On, or rather across, the shaft of the column, one-third of its height from the bottom.

ANNO 1.5.4^o.

ÆTATIS 26.

On the back of the canvas, the figures—243.

This version of the portrait by Calcar in the Louvre was acquired by Sir William Fergusson, (first) Baronet, LL.D., F.R.S., who was sergeant-surgeon to Queen Victoria—the father of the last owner, and died in 1887. It belonged before him to Mr. Naesmith of George Street, Hanover Square, London, who was a noted dentist of his day. Although it has suffered two serious bursts, now coarsely repaired, in unimportant places, the picture is otherwise in good condition, and impresses the beholder by its beauty of colour and its firmness of execution; for which reason, following an old tradition, it has been attributed to Titian—an ascription, we think, without much justification. As a variant of the Louvre picture it follows it, in some respects, more closely than any of the copies here dealt with. It is the only one, besides the Glasgow Gallery version, in which the form of the right eyebrow has been understood and accurately copied, as it is the only

one which reproduces the inscription. It is accurate even to the dots between the figures of the date. Yet this inscription, curiously enough, has been removed from the appropriate place on the base (as it appears in the Louvre picture) and is placed across the shaft a few inches below where, in the original, the coat-of-arms appears. And this coat, as the owner believed it to be—barely seen on the canvas and practically invisible in the photograph—is transplanted to the right top corner (“*sinister chief*”): this does not appear at present to be a shield, but an undecipherable inscription. It constitutes another unique feature of the Fergusson version.*

The forehead is somewhat too high; the face is pinched, narrow, and hollow-cheeked, and tapered to the chin—sharply angular instead of oval in form. The eyes are small and staring, and too harshly outlined; the mouth, drooping too much at the corners, transforms the gentle and rather melancholic expression of the original into an air of deepest depression, ready, one would say, on slight provocation, to flash into vindictiveness. In short the subtlety of the original (best approached in the later Flemish copy already described) may here be sought in vain. At the same time, we find more brain behind this face than in the copies at Christ Church and Boston.

Not only has the shield well-nigh disappeared from the canvas, but the decorative sword-hilt and belt, which in greater or less degree enliven the lower part of the other versions, scarcely show here at all except in a few sparkling points of light. There are numerous other slight differences of detail between this canvas and that at the Louvre to which it is hardly necessary to draw attention. But it may be said, generally, that this version lacks the masterly breadth and modulation, the delicately-rendered life and character, which place the Calcar picture at Paris on so high a level of achievement during the finest period of Italian portraiture.

It remains only to be said that the lettering of the inscription appears to belong, at the earliest computation, to the seventeenth century.

Sir James R. Fergusson, Bart., kindly provided us with the photograph taken for this work by Mr. Donald Scott of Edinburgh. The venerable owner died in November, 1924, at his death-sale May 1, 1925, the picture was bought at Christie's by Mr. C. Engel, of Vienna.

* Sir James Fergusson informed me, as to this inscription, “I remember when I was quite a boy some one thinking the coat-of-arms on the top corner of the painting a blemish and painting them over. My father afterwards tried to remove the paint. That was a long time ago; I am now [1919] five months in my 85th year . . .” The interference with the picture must therefore have taken place about the year 1850.



Attributed to CALCAR
The Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove
GLASGOW



Attributed to TITIAN
In the Collection of the late Sir James Ranken Fergusson, Bart.,
of Spitalhaugh,
WEST LINTON, N.B.

18. GLASGOW.

THE GLASGOW ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM, KELVINGROVE.

Attributed to CALCAR.

On canvas. Dimensions: 37½ in. × 30½ in. (95 cm. × 77·5 cm.).

In the catalogue of the Gallery* this portrait is claimed as a *réplica* (neither "original" nor "copy") of the picture in the Louvre. The entry runs thus:—"Jan Stephanus van Calcker . . . 172. *Portrait of a Young Man*. Three-quarters length figure, erect, holding in his right hand a letter, the left resting on his side. On the stone of his fingerring are three poppy-heads and the initial 'M. V. B.' Graham-Gilbert Collection. This portrait is a replica of the picture preserved in the Louvre, in which the shield of the family *del Buono* of Venice, is seen on the column to the right."

Of the history of this picture there is nothing to tell save that it was bought on the Continent of Europe by the well-known Scottish artist, John Graham-Gilbert (1794-1866) who during his visits abroad acquired a considerable collection of pictures, mainly Dutch and Italian—not a few of them of real importance—which on the death of his widow in 1877 devolved by request on the City of Glasgow Art Gallery. This pseudo-portrait of Vesalius was among them. There is nothing to show from whom it was acquired.

It may be said at once that the head is by far the finest rendering of that in the Louvre—surpassing all the other known versions in truth and accuracy of design and of form, in grasp of character, and in subtle realization of expression. Face and features are almost facsimile, and were it not that the eyes and eyelids are too accentuated, lacking also the masterly looseness and variety of outline that are so admirable in the original, we might almost regard with indulgence the description of "replica" claimed by the Glasgow catalogue. It is possible, of course, that the hardness to which we refer is to be attributed not to the painter but to some incompetent restorer. This is the only one of the five repetitions which approaches the Louvre picture in general harmony and unity; and the only one which gives the true character and direction of the gaze and which renders all the peculiarities of detail—such, for example, as the dint in the right cheek, which in the other canvases is either ignored or misunderstood.

* *Catalogue Descriptive and Historical of the Pictures in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove*. Compiled by James Paton, Glasgow, 1908. [It is to be expected that in the next edition of this careful and conscientious work, the identification of the arms as those of the *del Buono* family will be corrected.]

So much for the head. As to the figure and the costume, there is a general effect of unrest due not so much to the pinched drawing in the forms of the dress as, especially, to the strong contrasts of light and shade which are in a high degree disturbing. These cannot be by the hand that painted the Louvre picture. No assistance is given to the design by the foolishly painted-in straight curtain introduced on the right—a late addition and poorly done, probably by the man who covered the corners with oval-pieces (now removed) *before* he painted in the falling drapery. But these brilliant high-lights are not the main peculiarity of this version of the Calcar picture.

What renders this picture unique—in the sense that the *fluted* column differentiates Dr. Harvey Cushing's (the Boston) version from all the rest—is the shortening of the true base of the column, so that the man's right arm rests not upon that true base, but upon the lower step—what may be regarded as the capital of the pedestal that supports it. This implies a reduction in the relative scale of the column's base. The effect is that an unoccupied space of background occurs between the pedestal and the figure, whereby the slenderness of the drawn-in waist is revealed and emphasized—a waist hardly characteristic of the thick-set Vesalius we know in the *Fabrica*. Another result of the re-arrangement of architectural detail is that the hand which holds the letter overhangs what may be called the entablature of the pedestal beneath. But when all is said, we must recognize the remarkably successful representation of the Louvre picture—a veritable triumph for the painter.

The excellent reproduction here given is from a photograph by Messrs. T. and R. Annan of Glasgow.

The question naturally arises—Why was the portrait of this personage—be he von Brauweiler, del Buono, or Vesalius—so often reduplicated? It is not difficult to offer explanations. The portrait of a great professor may have been demanded as an honoured memorial for each successive centre of his triumphant activity, or for the Universities or Academies where he studied or gave his services to science. Or, the portrait of a great civic official may have been required for the decoration of various institutions over which he may have presided or which, perhaps, he may have founded. Or a noble's or dignitary's portrait, one for each branch of his family or his family's descendants. We have seen examples of all of such. There is, however, a simple solution of the problem: some sixteenth or seventeenth century artist may have set the original to be copied as a supreme

competitive test of the ablest of his pupils. This would account at least for some of the repetitions. We have here a common explanation of reduplicated portraits and subject-pictures of known excellence. For how many fine copies of masterpieces of painting, even in modern times, was not the British Institution responsible only a century ago? How many "Constable's 'Jumping Horses'" have not been produced more recently in the Schools of the Royal Academy? How many masterly copies of Rembrandt's "Mill" have we not met with? How many of other masterpieces which in course of years—mellowed by time and flattered by maturity, have not aroused acrid discussion as to authenticity or imitation? The future will have harder nuts to crack than those which we have been considering. For they were before the days of the public gallery and museum, and the professional copyist was unknown—originally and more particularly on the Continent of Europe, whence for a couple of centuries the land has been flooded by a bewildering number of excellent imitations of venerated pictures, not a few of which are nowadays entered in the more candid catalogues of national and State galleries as "a contemporary [or, early] copy." But the greater number are in private collections, and just as shiploads were despatched to England a century and more ago, so shiploads have been a constant and a valuable freight across the ocean.

For the purposes of convenient comparison the sizes of the six Louvre-type portraits may be here resumed:—

Louvre	...	...	43 in. × 34 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. — (109·2 cm. × 88 cm.)
Christ Church	...	...	35 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 29 $\frac{5}{8}$ — (91 × 75)
Brighton (formerly)	...	...	39 × 30 — (99 × 76)
Boston	...	...	50 × 40 — (127 × 101·5)
Glasgow	...	...	37 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ — (95 × 77·5)
West Linton (Sir James R. Fergusson)	...	...	40 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 33 — (103 × 84)

19. VIENNA.—I.

IMPERIAL AND ROYAL MUSEUM. (So-called until the dissolution of the Austrian Empire; now the State Museum. Previously at the Belvedere Gallery, No. 216.)

By GIOVANNI BATTISTA (or GIAMBATTISTA) MORONI (1520/5-1577).

On canvas. Dimensions: 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (87 cm. × 70 cm.).

When this picture was in the Archduke Leopold William's Collection in Brussels it was attributed to Titian; later on it was credited to Pordenone. It is now recognized as the work of the great Moroni, of

Bergamo, the pupil—and one of the best—of Moretto, and an excellent example of the great portraitist from whom Titian withheld neither admiration nor praise. This fact is alone sufficient to raise serious doubt, *ab initio*, as to the identity of the sitter. For the portrait of the *Fabrica* is dated 1542; Moroni, who was born in 1520 according to some, was then but twenty-two years old: if he was born in 1525, as other biographers assert, he was only seventeen. The sure and firm touch, and the wonderful knowledge displayed, are hardly to be considered as qualities likely to be found in a young painter just out of his master's studio. In any case the attribution is highly improbable. It must be remembered that Moroni's earliest signed and dated portrait is that of "A Man, seated," in the famous collection of the late Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia. That picture is dated 1545, three years after the *Fabrica* portrait. In 1542 Vesalius was twenty-eight years of age—probably that of the man in the picture before us.

The question arises—could Moroni have met Vesalius at about this time, when he might have painted his portrait? It is hardly possible. In the early years of his career Moroni was working at Bergamo or at Brescia, mainly at Brescia; indeed, it is likely enough that he was in the latter city when Alessandro Moretto, his master, returned from his sojourn at Milan and Verona (1540-1): this was when Moretto painted his "Madonna, with St. Francis," which is still at Brescia in the Martinengo Gallery. It is known that at this period Moretto had surrounded himself with pupils to aid him with his frescoes and his pictures.

Now, between the 13th and the 15th of August, 1542, Vesalius was at Padua,* and at the end of the month, starting on his holiday,† he proceeded to Venice in order to busy himself about the plates for his Anatomy; then, after a few months, during which he disappears from our ken, he made his reappearance at Bâle, in January, 1543, where he went to superintend the printing of his book. What was he doing in the interval? Professor Roth suggests a trip to Ferrara.‡ In any case, it is clear that travelling from Venice to Bâle Vesalius would probably pass through Brescia where the young Moroni was at work. But it is far from likely—seeing that he had but these few months' leave of

* He dates from Padua, *Idibus Augusti*, 1542, the dedication to Philip (*Serenissimo Principi Philippo*) which appears on the *verso* of the Title-page of the *Epitome*.

† For the permission to absent himself from Padua, see Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 and 431; Archives of the University of Padua; 28 Atti ... R.M. p. 111a.

‡ Where, five years later, his brother François was teaching medicine.



By MORONI
"Portrait of a Man" (No. 217)
In the State Picture Gallery
VIENNA

(See p. 84)



By MORONI
"Portrait of a Sculptor" (No. 216)
In the State Picture Gallery
VIENNA

*(The Medici Society, London,
and F. Bruckmann, Munich)*

absence during which he had to take a long voyage and carry out a prolonged and extremely important task—that he would have made a sojourn on the way long enough to permit of the execution of so careful, deliberate, and exacting a portrait as this. It is possible, of course, but in the highest degree unlikely, that Vesalius, dissatisfied with the fine professional portrait of the *Fabrica* and desirous of having his likeness painted in oils, may have made a halt at a critical period long enough to be represented on canvas by the new portraitist, and that, recognizing that it failed utterly in point of resemblance, he took no further interest in it. If this rather fanciful conjecture is permitted here, it is in order that all should be said that can be said in favour of authenticity as a likeness of Vesalius. It must be admitted, however, that such a suggestion is hardly worthy of serious consideration.

Furthermore, it is very long since any catalogue of the Belvedere Gallery has ventured to recognize Vesalius in this picture. The last catalogues of the Vienna Museum have even refrained from referring to the fact that such a claim was ever made. The official description now runs as follows: “216. PORTRAIT OF A SCULPTOR. A young man attired in black, holding in his outstretched hands a statuette of a male torso. His head and gaze are turned towards the left shoulder of the spectator. The coat-sleeves are turned up. Half length.” It might have been added that the figure is really a three-quarter length, the head turned three-quarters to the left; that the sitter wears a blouse the turned-up sleeves of which reveal the white linen of the shirt, and that a small white collar encircles the neck. The nose is longer, thinner, and more pointed than that of the Vesalius of the *Fabrica*; the frontal prominences are less accentuated, the mouth is more delicate and refined, typical of a temperament more artistic and less combative.

“Portrait of a sculptor.” That, it will be remembered, is the former description also of the so-called portrait of Vesalius by Tintoretto in the Munich Pinakothek, having regard to the same trumpery evidence—the fragment of a statuette. The reader may be referred to the remarks there made upon this aspect of the subject. It need only now be repeated that the presence of the figurine does not necessarily imply the sculptor’s or anatomist’s profession: it might equally be indicative of the quality of exploring antiquary, or connoisseur, save that the turned-up sleeve, suggestive of actual work, is against it.

The case has been stated simply by Herr Glück, the distinguished Director of the Vienna Gallery in a letter addressed to Professor Dr. Otto R. von Fürth and by him communicated to us. It is a definitive

and decisive judgment, and must obviously be accepted as the only, the inevitable one: "In my opinion, we possess in the Vienna Gallery no portrait of Vesalius . . . a name which one of my predecessors ventured to apply to picture No. 216, a course which I consider to be devoid of any justification." Herr Glück adds on his own account, apropos of the picture at Munich and of others: "I am satisfied that the foundation of all these identifications with the name of Vesalius is no more than pure imagination."

20. VIENNA.—II.

IMPERIAL AND ROYAL MUSEUM (so-called until the dissolution of the Austrian Empire; now the State Museum. Previously at the Belvedere Gallery—No. 217 [E. 313] of the Catalogue: originally No. 974).

By GIAMBATTISTA MORONI.

On canvas. Dimensions: 32 in. by 26 in. (81.28 cm. × 66 cm.)

Although Herr Glück, Director of the Museum, has expressed the doubt whether this picture, any more than No. 216 (i.e. No. 14 *supra*, just described), has ever been considered as a portrait of Vesalius, we find the name engraved and published in the plate of it wrought by Jan van Troyen.

Originally attributed to Titian, the picture was declared in the 18th century, according to Dr. James Moores Ball, to be the work of Jan Stephan van Calcar. In the catalogue of the gallery which was compiled by Chrétien de Mechel and published in Bâle in 1784, we read: "25. Portrait of a man with a black beard, dressed in material of the same colour, and holding a letter in his hand. At his side is seen a book, and several papers lie upon a table. On canvas, 2 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 2 inches. Half-length: life-size." But there is no mention of Calcar.

This picture, now with good reason attributed to Moroni, was formerly, like the last portrait by the Master just described, in the Collection of the Archduke Leopold William, when it was numbered 974. It will be observed that originally the right hand grasped some object—probably a pair of gloves—now over-painted and showing through.* It

* It is an interesting fact that we find this picture introduced by David Teniers the Younger in both of the two views which he painted of this astonishing gallery when in the 17th century it was in the Archduke's palace in Brussels. The first of these two views is now in the Vienna Museum. The portrait by Moroni, faithfully reproduced, is represented by

is possible that it is a *pentimento*; or again, and more likely, it is a case in which a clumsy "restorer" so spoiled the object when cleaning the picture that he was compelled to obliterate it entirely by painting over it, as he was incompetent to replace it—and the ruins of it now show indistinctly through the thin coat of pigment with which he concealed his misdeed. The ghostly traces of it are still clearly to be seen. Without this object the pose of the hand does not explain itself. The suppression must have been made after Troyen's rendering of the picture, and equally after Teniers's two pictures referred to in our Note.

It is a fine thing, this picture of Moroni's, where all is rendered with such vivid truth and realism as to challenge the spectator; and yet all is done with so little sense of emotion as to leave him a cold admirer. We may wonder at the hard, continuous outline of the silhouette of face and figure on the right, where its edge is never "lost" as we expect to find in really fine painting of this class; but the portrait, notwithstanding, is a masterpiece of living representation. Yet when we compare it with the Woodcut of the *Fabrica* we see no reason, no excuse indeed, for accepting it as a likeness of Vesalius. The shape of the skull is entirely different; the nose, cheekbones, eyes, ear, beard—all, in fact—differ so completely that it is useless to waste time in giving further consideration to the untenable allegation. Even the book which lies on the table is not a folio, but a quarto: if it were not intended for a copy of the *Fabrica* there seems to be no reason why it should have been introduced at all as an accessory in a portrait of Vesalius.

Were it not for the evidence of Troyen's engraving we should find it difficult to believe that even the most reckless publisher had ever claimed the picture to represent the great anatomist. The engraving,† a free and

Teniers as hanging on the wall close to the dado, the third on the left. In this portrait the man is turned to the right and seems to hold in his hand a pair of gloves such as we notice has been painted out in the original picture; the gloves also appear in the misrepresentative engraving of the picture by Troyen. In the second view, now in the Munich Gallery, also, as has been said, by Teniers, the portrait, for no obvious reason, is reversed, and also shows gloves; it is included among the upper row of pictures, almost touching the ceiling.

The picture must not be confounded with that here catalogued among the Engravings, from the burin of Troyen after the portrait by Titian, which in the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is called a portrait of Vesalius, but which we have reason to believe represents the Senator Nicsono. [See *infra*.]

† It is reproduced in the volume by Dr. James Moores Ball, M.D.: *Andreas Vesalius the Reformer of Anatomy*, St. Louis Medical Science Press, 1910, in which it appears as the frontispiece. It should in fairness be added that Dr. Ball, as he has informed me, has himself little faith in the identity claimed for the portrait.

summary transcript, reversed moreover in printing, was made about the middle of the 17th century. Troyen must have been a cynic indeed if he did not smile when he thought of that other portrait—the picture by Titian in the Pitti Palace—which he also engraved as a “Vesalius”: their hopeless disparity could not but have appealed to his sense of humour.

21. PADUA.

MUNICIPAL MUSEUM (MUSEO CIVICO).

Painter unknown.

On canvas. Dimensions: 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (83 cm. × 68 cm.).

This picture seems to have suffered from barbarous over-cleaning. The head is now almost ghostly. The left hand, owing to a “restoration” criminal in its clumsiness, is little more than a monstrosity; the right hand, though not impeccable, is not so offensively ill-drawn. In the circumstances, some measure of indulgence may be claimed for it.

It is known that the painting was formerly in the Monastery of St. Justina in Padua; why it was not left there is a mystery—unless the presence of Venus and Cupid in a religious institution was resented as an incongruity. In that case why was it ever allowed to enter through the solemn portals? Professor Lazzarini, of Venice, to whom we are indebted for this meagre detail of the picture’s history, adds that “there is no point of resemblance between the sitter’s face and the fine, strong, and rather coarse, physiognomy of Vesalius.” We may go further, and say that not only is there no resemblance, but in every single detail of form and characteristic there is active disagreement. Why the picture was ever called a portrait of Vesalius is therefore a puzzle not likely to be solved; nor should we stay to consider it further, whether as an iconographic document or as a work of art, had it not pleased Professor Roth to consecrate its notoriety by his notice.*

In the background is depicted a group of Venus and Cupid; but whether sculptured as a high relief on a slab of stone, or intended as living persons entering the doorway, the artist has not succeeded in representing with any degree of certainty. To the standing Venus—(this is not the Venus of one of the *Fabrica* plates)—Cupid prettily extends his arms. The detail harmonizes perfectly with the aspect of

* See Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 448.



In the Museo Civico
PADUA

(Photograph by Cavaliere Fiorentini, Padua)

the sitter, a young man of feeble health, apparently, whose delicate features might well belong to a poet or an art-lover of somewhat decadent tastes. But why Vesalius? An antiquary, once more—an antiquary, a Mæcenas even: but never the anatomist, the Belgian man of science, the professor of Padua, the thickset man of action, the very personification of audacity, ever challenging by his defiance authorities, religious and civic—as Burggraeve somewhere suggests, with one eye ever on the Church and the other on the Police: his passion for dissection compelling him to perpetual risk which his courage never shirked. Is that the character which this vision of a vapid youth calls up before us?

Roth knew quite well that this portrait "No. 814" (since renumbered 460) was not claimed in either the written or printed catalogue of the Museum of Padua as a likeness of Vesalius, but was simply entitled "Portrait of a Young Man, by Giovanni Calcar." Perhaps the name of the painter seduced the eminent professor into this curious indulgence in self-deception; Roth himself offers no explanation, and even adds in all simplicity that "the attribution is not accepted." Nevertheless, he insists on the inter-resemblance of this portrait and that by Calcar in the Louvre. It may safely be said that no two heads could present more complete dissimilarity of character and of type. This young man, with the tender little auburn beard, with the light little eyes—weak in gaze and feeble in spirit—and perhaps delicately endowed with a pretty taste in Sapphic poetry, has little in common with the "M.V.B." of the Louvre, whose large pensive eyes are full of expression, calm but eloquent witnesses of intellectual force within. It is true that the hair of both youths inclines to auburn, but that is the highest common denominator, surely insufficient to establish any real relationship between the two pictures. But even were it otherwise, M.V.B. is not A.V.B., and Calcar's von Brauweiler is not Vesalius.

We owe it to the obliging courtesy of Signor Moschetti, Director of the Museum of Padua, that the photograph of the picture is here reproduced.

22. LONDON.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

Attributed to SIR ANTHONY MOR (c. 1519—1576 (?8) Flemish School).

On panel (mahogany). *Dimensions* : 32½ in. by 25 in. (82·5 cm. × 63·4).

Inscription : [see *infra*].

[The material of this panel gives cause for reflexion. Mahogany was not known in Europe in the 16th century. Its first introduction consisted merely of the importation of samples, which were not commercially offered for sale. It is of course possible that in this case the panel may be a foundation on which the original panel, cut down to the merest film, was at some later date affixed. The alternative is that the picture is a copy].

Roth informs us that this work, "in 1871 still in the British Museum, was, with the title: 'Portrait of a Man Unknown,' in the National Gallery, in London."* This confused statement is obviously inaccurate. The facts are these. The picture belonged to Sir Hans Sloane and along with all the collections of that remarkable man came into the possession of the British Museum on its foundation in 1753. Its previous history is unknown. It appears in Sir Hans Sloane's own list, which accompanied the benefaction, but without either date or other indication. This list, like all the lists of his other collections, was never properly made, but grew, as it were, item by item, along with the development of the collection itself, without any information as to dates or as to the circumstances of acquisition in the case of many of the objects which the Museum received from the donor. It appeared as No. 147; and in the first list drawn up in the Museum the picture was entered as: "75. Vesalius, on panel, by Sir Antonis More. *This portrait belonged to Sir Hans Sloane.*" In 1879 the panel was deposited in the National Gallery with a number of other pictures, all of which, except a "presumed" Moro (No. 1094), a Weenix (1096), a Lievens (1095) and a Wilson, were retransferred to the British Museum in 1880—the reason being that Sloane bought pictures without much regard to quality of the highest excellence such as the National Gallery seeks to

* See Roth : *Op. cit.* p. 447.



Attributed to Sir ANTHONY MOR
In the British Museum
LONDON

exact: the historic interest of a work was more to him than it necessarily is to a director of a great art gallery. That is why the picture before us is now housed in the Gold Ornament Room of the British Museum, where it hangs bearing on its label the prudent words: "attributed to Sir Antonis More."

An inscription in the top left corner presents considerable difficulty. That in the opposite corner on the other hand is plainly legible: in 16th century lettering are the figures "27," and below them the name "VESALIUS" in fancy characters of the 18th century at the earliest, probably of the last century. When, however, we come to examine the left-hand inscription we find that it is in part undecipherable. I read it

"

1 × 2 ^o
. B .

."

A friend, competent in such matters, whom I con-

sulted, reads it thus: "

157 ^o
. B .

"—while expressing uncertainty as to

the 5 and the o. If his interpretation is correct, and my 2 is a 7, that in any case disposes of the picture as a life-portrait of Vesalius. The meaning of the "B" escapes both of us: yet, if I am right, we probably have here no more than some inventory indication, wholly without connection with either painter or sitter. It is impossible to decide at the present day whether the cryptic record, which seems in part to have disappeared either through damage or over-cleaning, possessed any interest or importance at all.

The attribution to Mor is no longer considered admissible. In the first place, we know pretty well the movements and travels of Vesalius on the one hand and of the artist on the other, and it becomes a matter of doubt whether the two men could ever have met. Even when Vesalius, on his way from Italy, visited Brussels for a brief period in 1545, Mor was busily occupied at Utrecht. For this reason Van Mander's (unproved) assertion that Mor soon proceeded to Rome (? 1545)—and consequently might have seen Vesalius in Italy—has little worth, because Vesalius had already arrived in Brussels before setting out on his journey to Bâle. Later on, Mor had quitted Madrid several years before Vesalius took up residence there in the service of the monarch.

In any case the question of technique compels the rejection of the attribution. It might be said that in manner it approximates to that of the "Man Unknown" by Mor in Lord Yarborough's collection at

Brockesly* ; but consideration of handling, of method and of drawing, suggests the name of Pourbus the Elder—and of other painters as well, somewhat less skillful than he. But the surprising resemblance between this picture and the "Portrait of a Gentleman" in the Municipal Gallery of Marseilles (the Palais de Longchamp) leaves no doubt they are both by the same hand. Indeed, both in costume and in arrangement they are practically identical. The Marseilles portrait is officially ascribed to Antonio Moro, but M. Philippe Auquier, the compiler of the catalogue, declares himself at one with certain distinguished art critics† in their opinion that it is certainly from the hand of Pourbus the Elder, of Bruges. Dr. Friedlander, whose judgment carries weight, has declared the artist to be Frans Pourbus the elder.

This portrait, painted without *impasto*, makes some impression on the spectator. The alleged Vesalius is represented standing, turned towards the right, three-quarter view ; the face is fair, very smooth (as if the artist had made use of the shark's tooth of more recent times), and brilliant in colour. He is habited in the fashion of Charles the IXth or Henri Trois—that is to say, between 1560 and 1590. The rising collar of the doublet presses upward the little ruffled collar, pleated and poked, of peculiar shape ; the ruffles at the wrist, which just peep from the sleeves, are similarly pleated ; the handsomely figured black doublet with yellow sleeves, furnished with "wings" at the shoulders, is fastened down the front with a close row of buttons. The garment is tightly drawn in at the waist by a narrow belt embellished with a medal, from which hangs a large pouch with silver mountings richly worked. The right hand, the little finger of which displays a double ring jewelled, holds a pair of gloves ; the other, hard and stiff in rendering but painted with the utmost care, rests awkwardly on the hip.

The background is a dark-green. On the back of the panel is a seal no longer decipherable, and beneath it is pasted a small oval label—seemingly explanatory of the seal—inscribed with the name of "Will Courten." William Courten (1642-1702) was the founder of the Sir Hans Sloane Collection. The label, therefore, concerns the owner of the picture, not the sitter.

The resemblance of this portrait to that of the *Fabrica* is of the slightest : there is some similarity in the direction of the gaze and, in a less degree, in the form of the nose ; and that is all. Otherwise the dissimilarity is complete. The hair is short and straight ; the beard is

* See : Henry Hymans : *Antonio Moro, son Œuvre et son Temps*. Brussels. 1910. (G. Van Oest et Cie).

† M. Alfred Michiels and M. Bouillon-Landais.



In the Istituto di Anatomia Umana
MODENA

closely trimmed ; the eyes and their pupils are very small ; the forehead is flat and wholly without prominences. Add to that the smallness of a skull quite different in shape, the falling moustache curiously growing on what appears to be a hare-lip, the huge ear elephantine in form, a chin relatively hairless, and it will be seen that the dissimilarity is not only complete but fundamental, and accordingly that no grounds exist for connecting the picture with the name of Vesalius.

23. MODENA.

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN ANATOMY (Istituto di Anatomia Umana).
Painter unknown.

The composition of this picture is more or less analogous to that of the *Fabrica* Woodcut, by which it has evidently been inspired. The sitter, seen nearly full length, is turned to the right, towards a table on which is set upright the subject the dissection of which has already been begun—a human leg (probably projecting into the picture from the complete body beyond) which he touches lightly with extended fingers on a level with the soleus muscle. In his right hand he holds a scalpel. The costume is of the fashion worn towards the end, rather than at the middle, of the 16th century. Into a large and loosely pleated ruff around the neck the head sinks—reminding one of the satirical contemporary criticism of “a decapitated head served up on a trencher of cambric”; and a delicate pointed lace trimming encircles the wrist of the sleeve. The resemblance to Vesalius will be sought in vain ; the little half-closed eyes, the frowning brows, the forehead bald to the summit of the skull, the all-round beard trimmed to a point, do little to recall the standard portrait ; and we remain unconvinced even after reading the inscription printed, like a newspaper poster, on a large sheet of paper thrown obtrusively across the table, failing even to mask the bad perspective of the book and inkstand lying there. These are doubtless later additions. The wording runs :

ANDREA VESAL. .
SOMMO ANATOMI. .
NATO A BRUSSELO
IL 30, DICEMBRE 1514
MORTO IN ZANTÉ
IL 2, OTTOBRE 1564
RITORNANDO
DA GERUSALEMME

It appears obvious enough that this well-drawn and well-painted picture is the portrait of an anatomist of the close of the 16th century—authentic although inspired by the *Fabrica* Woodcut—which at a subsequent period, probably during the 18th century, was provided with the paper and the inscription in order to identify it with the greater man. This addition, therefore, is fraudulent. The very presence of it, however, is indisputable evidence that the picture is no life-portrait of Vesalius and that it is now put forward only as a memorial painting. We can but regret the injustice done to the true sitter who doubtless shed honour on the Italian school of anatomy.

24. PARIS.

LA FACULTÉ DE MÉDECINE.

Painter unknown.

On Canvas. Dimensions: 23¼ in. × 17¼ in. (59 cm. × 44 cm.).

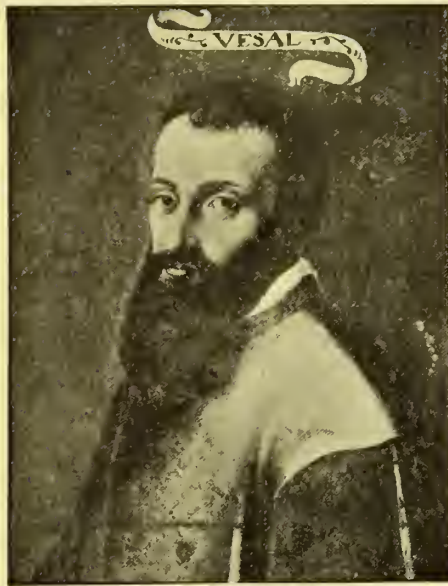
Inscription: above the head, on a narrow white ribbon, between floriated flourishes—VESAL [sic].

This portrait, which apparently was at one time bust-size but has since been lengthened (or, alternatively, which was shortened for a prolonged period, by being turned under to fit a smaller frame) is thus described in the splendid volume devoted by the late Dr. Noé Legrand to the fine collection of works of art belonging to the Faculté de Médecine of Paris* :—

“Three-quarter-length figure, to the left, against a grey background, with a white collar and a blue mantle from which emerge red sleeves . . . Portrait painted with simplicity, which, however, impresses one by undoubted qualities of execution. *Salle Debove. No. 139. (Planche 7, Fig. 3.)*”

This picture is one of a series of fourteen portraits painted in the same style, and of the same size—of which several are decorated with a similar ribbon—comprising not only doctors and surgeons of eminence but also the greatest philosophers from ancient times down to the 16th century—that is to say, from Socrates, Plato, and Galen, to

* *Les Collections Artistiques de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris. Inventaire raisonné.* Paris : Masson et Cie, Editeurs, Libraires de l'Académie de Médecine. Dr. Noé Legrand was killed in the Great War. Thanks are due to his publishers for their courteous permission to reproduce here the portrait which appears in their volume. It is poor enough, but as the original photograph is no longer accessible and as there is no present means of re-photographing the picture, this rendering of it must serve.



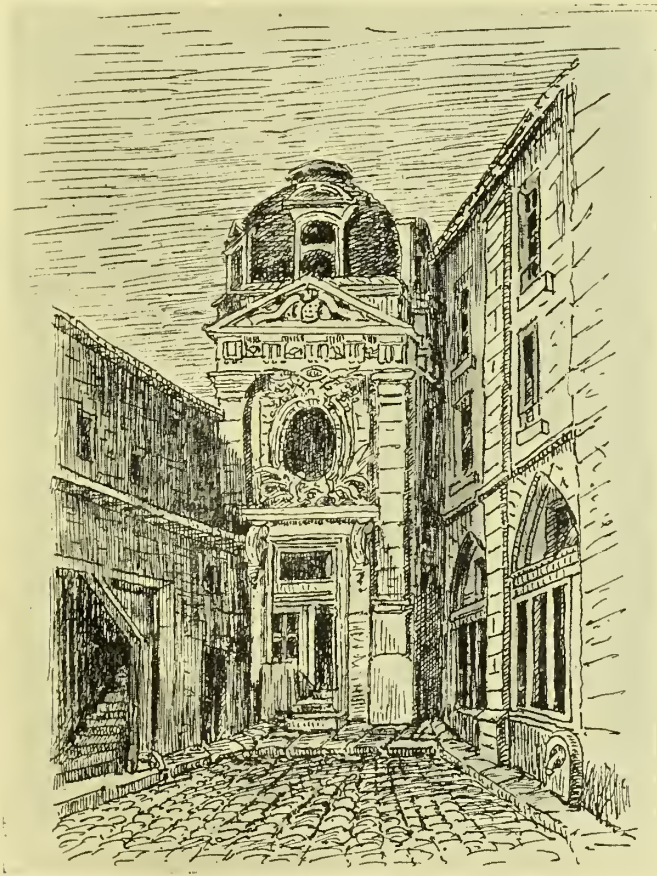
Faculté de Médecine
PARIS

(With the consent of MM. Masson et Cie, Paris)



After the Woodcut Portrait in the *Fabrica*
In the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum
LONDON (See p. 100)

Vesalius, Ambroise Paré, Fermel, and Matthiöle. Nothing is known of the origin of the series nor as to how it entered into the possession of the Faculté. Dr. Legrand rather obscurely remarks that the majority of these portraits were engraved at some period of the 16th century, but he



The Anatomical Theatre, Faculté de Médecine, Paris. (Where Vesalius worked.)

hesitated to affirm that they were the originals of the engravings; nor would he assert that the engravings were made from the pictures. He probably meant that pictures and engravings alike were derived from still earlier originals. It is clear enough that this series of portraits were not painted from the life (except possibly, one or two of them) and

that consequently they have merely an incidental value, even did they date really "from the 16th or 17th century"—rather, as it seems to me, the 17th, at the earliest.

As to the engravings referred to by Dr. Legrand, there can, I think, be no doubt whatever that this picture is the original of the little plate (by an anonymous engraver) entitled "ANDREAS VESALIUS. *Medicus et Anatomicus*"—which appeared, one among the set of very numerous similar illustrations, in Paul Freher's *Theatrum virorum eruditiorum clarorum* published in Nuremberg in 1688*: so closely are the arrangement and presentment followed, alike as to dress, form, features, and expression, that there can hardly be two opinions on the subject. It is this circumstance which invests the picture with its chief claim on our interest.

The simplicity of the handling—Dr. Legrand calls it *naïveté*—does not prevent the painting from being at least respectable. The artist has sought to get close to the *Fabrica* Woodcut and at the same time to give us a Vesalius at peace with the world. The expression accordingly is agreeable, but needlessly melancholic as well as sympathetic. This Vesalius is discouraged, but still amiable; he is a thinker mourning over the world, or at least sorry for the spectator. He may be as self-confident as ever, but his fires are hopelessly damped down. He is just sitting for his portrait, patient, friendly, and resigned. But even in this unaccustomed mood the anatomist is recognizable.

25. VIENNA—III

IMPERIAL AND ROYAL MUSEUM (so-called until the dissolution of the Austrian Empire; now the State Museum,—No. 250 in the Catalogue.)

By TINTORETTO.

On canvas. Dimensions: 45¼ in. by 38¼ in. (115 cm. × 97 cm.).

Inscription: see *infra*.

There can be little doubt that the original painted portrait which resembles the most closely, yet at the same time most generally and broadly, the Woodcut of the *Fabrica* is the magnificent canvas by Tintoret which is entitled in the Vienna catalogue "Portrait of a Man Unknown." If no one has hitherto ventured to bring it forward as

* See in the section of "ENGRAVINGS," under the date 1688.



By TINTORETTO
In the State Museum
VIENNA

(Photographed by Hanfstaengl, London)

a true likeness of the anatomist it is probably because the inscription has estopped the attribution *ab initio*. Let us, nevertheless, examine this remarkable painting and see if there is no possibility of surmounting the formidable obstacle interposed by the inscription.

The person represented—shown three-quarter length—stands turned towards the left, his head to the right and his gaze in the same direction ; his right hand rests on a large folio volume (the *Fabrica* ?) which lies on the table before him. He is dressed in a doublet covered by a rich and ample Venetian fur-trimmed robe. His skull is less spherical than that of Vesalius in the *Fabrica* : otherwise there is practical identity of likeness between this picture and the Woodcut standard : the wide and noble forehead, the prominences of which are less seen because the head is to some extent thrown back and details are obliterated in the broad illumination ; the temples ; the large expressive eyes ; the concave, tilted nose ; the dark, square-trimmed beard—all correspond, save that the curls on the head are not clearly seen, and the median lobe of the upper lip is masked by the moustache which, it will be observed, is of exactly the same shape and growth as in the Woodcut. It must be noted that, if the date of the inscription is authentic, the portrait was painted in 1553, and the eleven years which had passed would account for such trifling differences. The head, too, is no longer too large proportionately to the body as in the Woodcut : we might be justified in supposing that the great portraitist might have allowed his artistic taste to flatter nature. Regarding the picture as a whole, no one, it may be assumed, will deny the extraordinary resemblance it bears to the portrait cut on wood. But there is the inscription to be considered.

This inscription—which is painted in the bottom left corner below the level of the table's surface—is as follows :—

On the upper line : MDLIII

On the second line : what has hitherto incorrectly been regarded as an interlaced L and S, in monogram form, surmounted by what might be taken for an inverted V, and followed by a star.

On the third line : ANN XXXV

If the year 1553 is really the date when the canvas was painted, it is not impossible that this presumed portrait of Vesalius might have been executed by Tintoretto. For we know that there is a gap at this period in the ascertained movements of the anatomist during which time his place of residence has not been ascertained. Tintoretto, it is established, was at that time hard at work in Venice. Could Vesalius have absented himself from the train of the Emperor and have betaken himself to Venice ? If so, for what purpose ?

To the first of these questions we must answer "Yes," because Vesalius was engaged in the preparation of the second edition of the *Fabrica* for which he had, among other things, to obtain the newly-engraved title-page in substitution for that of 1543. But could he have left Charles the Fifth? Roth says* :—

"In the course of the same year [1552] the Metz campaign was prosecuted. On the 1st of January [1553] Charles the Fifth raised the siege and retired to Brussels. From that time onwards the Emperor became less energetic and undertook no more journeys save only one to France, in September 1553. *It is not known whether or not Vesalius took part in the siege of Metz* : but there is no doubt that in the course of the ensuing winter a rumour spread of his death—a report based no doubt on the death of Franz Vesalius, which took place at Vienna."

It is therefore perfectly possible that Vesalius might, in 1553, have made the journey to Venice to superintend his business there. If so, a meeting with the Italian master—who, by the way, was his junior by four years—might easily have taken place.

But another difficulty now arises. In 1553 Vesalius was thirty-nine, not thirty-five years old—the recorded age of the sitter of the picture. But if we examine the inscription with care we see that it has been re-touched—certain letters have undoubtedly been re-painted. Look well at the "XXXV," and you will observe that the first two "X"s are much narrower than the third, and that the "V" is of the same width as the third X: which proves that the last two capital letters, being different in proportional size, were not painted at the same time as the first, and that, therefore—for some reason or other—this portion of the inscription replaces an older one.

In proof of this theory we may point to the lack of symmetry of the inscription relatively to the first line: the "A" of the first line begins more to the left than the "M," above it; yet the "V" does not project as it should beyond the upper "I." It is evident, therefore, that a letter is missing, which is not compensated for even by the broader "XV" of the substitution. Consequently, if the original inscription gave XXXIX—the age of Vesalius in 1553—it would, with the extra letter added—fill the allotted space to perfection. I am aware that the argument is not convincing to the point of certainty, but it is in a high degree probable that it affords the explanation why the inscription has stood in the way of recognition of the portrait as a likeness of Vesalius, despite its striking resemblance.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

With respect to the "monogram," no one has hitherto realized that *it is not a monogram*, but (as can be seen, if one examines the photograph carefully, or—better still—the picture itself, where the fact is much more evident) it is a symbol of a serpent coiled round a tree-trunk : or "club-like staff." It is likely that the restorer who re-touched the letters—perhaps repairing a damage—also transformed the tree-branch into the meaningless vague resemblance of an inverted v. The star, likewise, should be in its proper place, above. In its true position *this symbol is that of the God of Healing, Asklepios (Aesculapius)*. The tree, or branch, represents the grove by which his temple was surrounded. The serpent was sacred to him because it symbolized renovation. The star, of course, typifies the concession allowed by Zeus in placing Aesculapius among the stars in reparation for having slain with his thunderbolt the learned healer lest he should contrive to teach men how to escape from death. The identification is thus complete : for these details are plain matters of classical mythology.

This picture seems to have been first publicly remarked upon (but not as a portrait of Vesalius) when it belonged to the famous collection of the Archduke Leopold William at Brussels, several works in which have already been spoken of here. In 1824 it entered the Vienna Gallery along with many other masterpieces from the Archduke's collection, which in regard to several of its sections was one of the finest of its time.

26. CASTLE GORING, SUSSEX, ENGLAND.

Attributed to TINTORETTO (formerly to TITIAN).

On canvas.—Dimensions : 45 in. by 37 in. (114.5 cm. × 94 cm.).

This portrait first came to general knowledge in 1894-5 when it was lent by Mrs. Alfred Somerset (now Lady Somerset) to the Exhibition of Venetian Art held at the New Gallery in London. It was No. 290 in the Catalogue and was thus described :—

"Portrait of Andreas Vesalius, the celebrated anatomist (1514-1564).

By Titian. Three-quarter length figure seated, to left, looking at the spectator ; black dress and fur gown ; right arm resting on a table. Canvas, 45 in. × 37 in."

It will be observed that these dimensions are identical with those of the portrait, also by Tintoretto, in the Munich Gallery, here dealt with.

The known history of the picture begins in 1827 when it was bought by Charles Wyndham Burrell, Esq.,* who was the eldest son of Sir Charles Merrik Burrell but who did not live to succeed to the Baronetcy. The younger brother, Sir Percy Burrell, inherited; and he married the sister of Lady Somerset in 1856. When he died in 1876 his widow went to live with her sister at Castle Goring; four years later Lady Burrell died and the picture devolved on Lady Somerset, together with such pictures and furniture as Lady Burrell had brought with her from Knepp Castle, Horsham, and West Grinstead Park. In 1830 we find mention of the picture in Edmund Cartwright's "The Rape of Bramber" as belonging to Sir Charles Burrell, Bart., and as being at that time at Knepp or about to be added to the Knepp Collection: it was already spoken of as "Andreas Vesalius (the anatomist) by Tintoretto." Seven years later—in the summer of 1837—Sir Charles Burrell lent the picture to the British Institution in Pall Mall, London, to be included in the fine exhibition of Old Masters. That it was accepted for display in such a collection is sufficient testimony to its excellence as a work of art, whoever may have painted it and whoever may have been the sitter.

There is much of the strength of Tintoretto in this picture, with a closer general resemblance to that master than to Titian. There is, besides, a certain similarity of type between it and the Munich portrait, formerly called by Vesalius's name, also by Tintoretto. They are both of a Southern, an Italian type, with nothing at all of the Fleming; in both, the cheek-bones are too small; the frontal protuberances non-existent; the heavy nose not tilted; the smooth hair brushed forward in a peak on the forehead. Herein they agree and herein also—except as to the peak—they disagree with the *Fabrica* authority. The Castle Goring picture disagrees also with that of Munich in the growth of the hair on the temples, in the rounded oval of the chin, and, above all, in the essential element—the shape of the skull which tends to the dolichocephalic; whereas both the *Fabrica* Woodcut and the Munich painting represent a cranium emphatically brachycephalic. This is fatal to the claim of the Somerset picture. In comparison with this damning evidence, other points are of very minor importance—that in the *Fabrica* the beard is worn square, in the Munich picture pointed, and in the picture we are considering rounded—*en collerette*, as it is called in

* This is therefore the "Burrell portrait of Vesalius" mentioned *infra* among the portraits hitherto untraced, and now at last identified.



Attributed to TINTORETTO
In the Collection of Lady Somerset
CASTLE GORING, SUSSEX

France, yet all representing the sitter at about the same age ; and that while in the *Fabrica Vesalius's* hands are pulpy with short fingers, in this picture they are as unnaturally long, thin, and nerveless as though they were rendered by an Italian, Spanish, or Flemish primitive. Not only in detailed and in general appearance, but in character and personality, there is practically nothing to encourage our belief that this picture is intended for Vesalius. Yet character there is here in plenty—thought, gravity, resolution, and some tendency to natural combativeness flashing from the dark eyes—but it is the personality of the politician, one would say, rather than of the man of science.

As we compare the two men, we are forced to the conclusion that, taken as individual personalities, both in form and in temperament, they are as the poles asunder.

It should be added that hair and beard are dark brown ; the eyes, a lighter brown ; and the flesh yellowish and swarthy. The dress is of black velvet, the gown faced with fur, with white collar and cuffs. The chair, apparently of chestnut wood studded with brass, is upholstered in dark red velvet. The table, which should be seen in the dark brown background, has faded into invisibility. The picture is in poor condition and the varnish has perished in patches.

27. BOSTON, U.S.A.

Collection of DR. HARVEY CUSHING [and see No. 16].

Painter unknown.

On panel. Dimensions : c. 12 in. by c. 8 in. (c. 30 cm. × c. 20 cm.).

Dr. Harvey Cushing, enthusiastic student of the life and work of Vesalius, as well as of his iconography, acquired, besides the version of the picture by Calcar in the Louvre which has already been described, an example of a type of picture to which reference has been made in our Foreword. It is a capital example of its curious class. According to one opinion : " Its authenticity must be doubted : it seems to belong to the same category as the portrait of Harvey in the collection of Sir D'Arcy Power."

The last-named portrait—I have had the opportunity of examining it—has all the appearance of being from the same hand as the Halliday portrait of Shakespeare and as many other pseudo-historical memorial likenesses in oil which bear strong resemblance to one another in respect of softness of illumination, smoothness and care in the painting, of

cleverness in the introduction, now and then, of accessories; and there is identity also of pigment and varnish, as shown by the characteristic cracking. Even a work of this description possesses a sort of psychological interest—the interest of curiosity—to the collector, for it illustrates popular respect for the memory of a master of thought and of superb scientific achievement.

The portrait of Vesalius is painted on an old panel, well selected for its purpose, as is the case in respect of several other portraits from the same hand which have within recent years been sold in one of the auction rooms of London. Here what is now Dr. Harvey Cushing's picture was disposed of and was bought by the dealer from whom it was acquired. Until lately it has been impossible to raise the curtain of concealment which hides the identity of the manufacturer of these memorial portraits. A story frequently advanced to satisfy the purchaser is that the pictures come from the gallery of an impoverished peer who has compelled the person acting as intermediary to sign an undertaking never to divulge the name of the unfortunate aristocrat. In this fashion was the origin of Dr. Cushing's picture shrouded from view: but the vendor handsomely carried his candour so far as to reveal the fact that the former owner was "a nobleman of Kent."*

28. LONDON.

WELLCOME MEDICAL HISTORICAL MUSEUM.

Painter unknown.

On panel. Dimensions: 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (32.5 cm. × 24.5 cm.).

Inscription on the background—ANNO 1542

In 1913 Mr. Henry S. Wellcome founded, in Wigmore Street, the Historical Medical Museum which was the great illustrative ornament of the Section of History of Medicine at the 17th International Medical Congress, held in London in that year. This astonishing Museum is now greatly enlarged and has become a permanent institution of very great scientific and historical interest; it fully justifies its description as: "A Collection illustrating the History of Medicine and the Allied Sciences throughout the world from prehistoric times." Nothing like it exists elsewhere.

Among the large collection of portraits of men in every branch of

* This reproduction is made through the courtesy of Messrs. Ryman and Son, Oxford.

medico-scientific knowledge is a "portrait of Vesalius" of which the *provenance* was admitted to be unknown when the little picture appeared in London in 1911. It was sought to attribute it to a painter of the 16th or 17th century, who had inspired himself by the *Fabrica* Woodcut. But the true character of the picture proclaimed itself and it was acquired by the Museum as a modern adaptation.

The face has been so much "messed about" that any criticism of it would be out of place. The painting of the background is better. Minor alterations point to the difficulty experienced by the painter in rendering accessories as to which the Woodcut did not give him sufficient information or indication; so the scalpel is replaced by a knife, and the fine metal "standish" has become a simple glass inkstand of common style. The pattern on the doublet is re-designed, and that not badly. Proportions also have been modified: the head is relatively smaller, the arm with its extended hand is longer. The red doublet is embroidered in gold; the sleeve is brown and the wristband grey. The curtain on the left is blue fringed with red and gold. At the back is a white curtain, and beyond it the grey wall. It is all rather gorgeous: the painter has exerted himself to bait his hook with colour. The painting is not altogether bad, but while it is wholly lacking in refinement alike in touch and taste, the handling is "fudgy" such as we find in bungling copies the painters of which have sought to hide their inability to get near the real thing. It is not surprising that the technique cannot claim to belong to any school or period. An inexcusable detail of realism is the blood which spots the demonstrator's hands. (It reminds one of Hogarth's gross error of taste in his "Sigismonda" as first shown, where the fingers of the grief-stricken lady were stained with the blood of her husband's, Guiscardo's heart, which she lovingly fingered—an artistic indiscretion which the great painter removed in response to the loud and indignant protests of the public.) Nevertheless, the picture as it is is not entirely displeasing: its interest lies in its presentation of the *Fabrica* conception as a painted whole.

The inscription "Anno 1542" is one of those amusing impertinences by which the common picture-forgery seeks to delude the inexperienced, and to bolster up a claim to authenticity. It is obvious that he copied the date from the *Fabrica* Woodcut, and added his elaborations in the hope that it might appear that the Woodcut was a simplification of the painting, which the purchaser would logically argue must therefore be the original. It is a trick of the trade too frequently resorted to to succeed in deceiving persons at all familiar with the methods of

le truquage. But no one would suppose that the scientific details of the dissection in the Woodcut could have been done from the rough-and-ready representation of it in the painting. The picture takes its place in the collection merely as a "memorial" portrait.

29. LONDON.

Painter unknown.

On panel. Dimensions: 13 in. by 10 in. (32 cm. × 25.5 cm.).

Inscription: on label attached to the background wall—

Andrew Vesalius

Anno Domini

1543.

A portrait of Vesalius, pretty enough in effect and of an unusual type, was brought to my notice in the autumn of 1920. It had been lodged for sale with the dealer through whose intermediary the smaller Harvey Cushing portrait found its way into the United States. The date in the inscription apparently suggests that it was painted in celebration of the first publication of the *Fabrica*.

The most curious thing about what I must call this very impudent fabrication is that the body, pose, dress, and general design and arrangement are closely imitated from that most brilliant example among Holbein's group of masterpieces painted during his second visit to England, and before his entering the service of King Henry VIII—the life-size portrait of the Merchant of the Steel-yard in London, "Georg Giszze," which was painted in 1532, and which is now one of the ornaments of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. The head of Vesalius replaces that of the young merchant—that is all. The painter's cool faith in the abysmal ignorance of English picture-buyers almost commands our admiration: the clever "botcher" selects one of the most famous masterpieces of the world and then, assuming that it will not be recognized, claps the Fleming's head on the German body and asks us to believe that the result is the life-portrait of the professor of Padua.

An anatomical plate, held in the left hand, is substituted for the letter that appears in the original, while the right hand holds, instead of a coin as in the original, a quill-pen pointing to the drawing. The blackish cloak is garnished with a great fur collar, and reveals the crimson doublet with its ample sleeves crumpled into folds, and beneath it the

white puckered chemisette, all more or less as in Holbein's picture. Some portions are rather brilliantly painted (as such things go), notably passages of the beard, hair, and fur; the book which occupies the lower right-hand corner of the picture; and, in lesser degree, the table cloth and certain of the accessories, which, in spite of all the painter's care, necessarily fall immeasurably short of the perfection of the master-hand. The inscription-label is placed farther to the left than in the Gisze portrait, and its wording, of course, at once damns it on account of the spelling "Andrew"—the form adopted by Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell in the title-page of his reproduction of the *Épitome*, but, so far as I can remember, by no one else. As to the face, the eyes are poorly drawn and the nose is too long and straight.

There can be no doubt that this little panel is from the same skilful hand that a quarter of a century or so ago sent forth so many superficially clever and attractive "modern antique" portraits of illustrious persons to embarrass dealers, and ensnare the amateur collector. Yet for this laborious piece of skilful craftsmanship the sum of £12 only was demanded. The semi-honest impostor certainly offered a good deal for the money.

Our list of portraits of Vesalius painted in oil is here complete; they number 29 in all; yet the reader must realize that, as he has seen, of this considerable array not more than nine can reasonably be regarded as representing him. And of these, three come within the category of fabrications; the rest may be accepted as honest memorial pictures painted in honour of the Anatomist. The catalogue of them is meagre; they comprise the following:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Louvain : <i>University.</i> | 25. Vienna : <i>State Museum.</i> |
| 2. Bâle : <i>University.</i> | 28. London : <i>Wellcome Museum.</i> |
| 3. Padua : <i>University.</i> | 27. Boston, U.S.A. : <i>Dr. Harvey</i> |
| 12. Brussels : <i>Académie de Médecine.</i> | <i>Cushing.</i> |
| 24. Paris : <i>Faculté de Médecine.</i> | 29. London : <i>Present whereabouts</i> |
| | <i>unknown.</i> |

There is no printed record of any one of these having been painted from the life. The case is on a par with that of Shakespeare. The remainder of the portraits, which to all but optimists and zealots cannot command acceptance, number twenty—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 4. Amsterdam : <i>Stedelijk Museum</i> . | 16. Boston, U.S.A. : <i>Dr. Harvey Cushing</i> . |
| 5. Munich : <i>Pinakothek</i> . | 17. West Linton : the late <i>Sir Jas. Fergusson</i> . |
| 6. Florence : <i>Pitti</i> . | 18. Glasgow : <i>Art Gallery</i> . |
| 7. Glasgow : <i>University</i> . | 19. Vienna : <i>State Museum</i> . |
| 8. London : <i>Middlesex Hospital</i> . | 20. Vienna : <i>State Museum</i> . |
| 9. Woburn Abbey : <i>Duke of Bedford</i> . | 21. Padua : <i>Municipal Museum</i> . |
| 10. London : <i>Royal College Physicians</i> . | 22. London : <i>British Museum</i> . |
| 11. Paris : <i>Académie de Médecine</i> . | 23. Modena : <i>Institute of Human Anatomy</i> . |
| 13. Paris : <i>Louvre</i> . | 26. Castle Goring : <i>Lady Somerset</i> . |
| 14. Oxford : <i>Christ Church Library</i> . | |
| 15. Brighton : <i>Sir G. Donaldson</i> . | |

PORTRAITS UNTRACED OR UNIDENTIFIED.

1. *Letter of Morgagni*.

It has already been said, in our account of the portrait belonging to the Royal College of Physicians, that Morgagni, in his letter to Glaub, in 1732, speaks of a portrait which he had placed in his study among other portraits of men of learning and achievement.* Roth thought it likely that we may have here the picture now in the possession of the Académie de Médecine at Paris. There is, however, nothing to prove, or even to suggest, that Morgagni spoke of a *painted* picture of such dimensions as 43 in. by 34 in. (109 cm. by 86 cm.). The hypothesis, indeed, is not very probable, inasmuch as Morgagni speaks of several portraits "placed" in the same room—which was a study. His statement would apply equally to a series of engraved portraits. Dr. Harvey Cushing has suggested that the Morgagni picture is no other than one of the two now in Padua (*q.v. supra*).

* Giovanni Battista Morgagni (1682-1771) the Italian anatomist, in whose honour a memorial tablet has been erected at Padua on which he is described as *nobilis forolensis*, i.e., of Forli. He was prosector to A. M. Valsalva, one of the distinguished pupils of Malpighi. He occupied in 1715 the Chair of Anatomy of Padua which had been so worthily filled by Fallopius and Vesalius nearly two centuries before, and later by Fabricius and other distinguished successors. His masterly *Epistles* to Lanoisi were published in 1728; his great work on pathological or morbid anatomy in 1761, consisting of letters addressed to "a young friend," contained the results of not fewer than 640 dissections of diseased conditions.

See, the account of Morgagni by Sir William Turner, F.R.S., and Frederick G. Parsons, F.R.C.S., Professor of Anatomy at the University of London (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

2. *Ambras Collection, at Vienna.*

According to several writers (such as Professor Roth, Professor Henry Hymans, and Dr. James Moores Ball), there existed at Vienna two portraits of Vesalius. The first is that by Moroni (No. 216 in the Catalogue of the Museum) which is here described (No. 5). As to the second, said also to have been in the Ambras collection in the Belvedere Gallery, I am informed as a result of my inquiries that nothing is known of it in Vienna.

Even were it true that such a portrait—other than No. 216—ever belonged to the collection, as has been stated without any details of proof being offered, it would be almost impossible to identify it (or many another of the pictures from the same source, for the matter of that) in consequence of the frequent drafts which were at different times made upon the collection—notably those of 1713, 1722, 1748, 1763, 1773, and 1780—for the benefit, in the main, of the Vienna Museum. Records, it is said, have been so inextricably mixed where they have been preserved at all, that to disentangle the facts is practically impossible.

Dr. Moores Ball brings forward, as a portrait of Vesalius, the picture by Moroni (No. 217 in the Catalogue) which was engraved by Troyen, and a reproduction of it is given in the handsome volume devoted by Dr. Moores Ball to the memory of Vesalius. With this hypothesis we have already dealt (*see* No. 16). The first of the two (No. 216 in the Catalogue) was formerly attributed to Titian, then to Pordenone; the second, No. 217, to Tintoretto. Both are now recognized as being from the brush of Moroni. Crowe and Cavalcaselle wisely disputed the attribution of the Ambras picture to Tintoretto. It is not impossible that this may be the picture under discussion; but there is no sufficient reason to suppose that it is so.

3. *The Canova (?) portraits.*

Sir William Osler once drew attention to the fact that Canova, out of gratitude, presented to Granville a portrait of Vesalius "by TITIAN." Of this portrait no trace has been discovered. It is just possible that it might be that other Canova (?) the "Portrait of Vesalius, the anatomist, died 1574 [*sic*]"—which Mr. Graves, the picture-dealer, bought at the sale of Mr. R. Hamilton's collection in 1852 for the small sum of sixteen shillings. This price appears the more startling when it is remembered that the portrait was a gift received by Mr. Hamilton in 1846—as we learn from a letter which was addressed to him by Canova

and which was stuck on the back of the picture. One would think that the letter alone was worth the money even though Titian and his work were at a liberal discount. Whether these two cases refer to one and the same picture, or whether Canova took delight in presenting portraits of Vesalius to his friends when opportunity arose, is a matter which cannot now be determined.

4. *The Burrell portrait.* (See GORING CASTLE, *supra*, p. 97.)

As I have succeeded in identifying this "lost" portrait with the picture now at Goring Castle, it is only mentioned here in order to help the reader who might expect to find it dealt with in this section. This is the more necessary as the picture has been thought hitherto to be no longer in existence. Sir Merrik R. Burrell, the seventh baronet and present owner of Knepp Castle, wrote to me (I having unintentionally misled him): "I much regret that I cannot give you any information, but the greater part of the collection of pictures was burnt in 1904, and I fear the one you mention was destroyed." (25 Oct. 1919.)

5. *The Onghena portrait.*

Writers have asserted—without giving definite information on the subject—that the well-known engraving by Charles Onghena after the *Fabrica* Woodcut (done by him in 1840 and published in the following year) was executed not direct from the original print but from an oil-picture based upon it, painted by Onghena himself. Inquiry has failed to reveal the picture, and even to verify the original assertion.



By HENRI DE CAISNE
Belgium Crowning with Laurel her Illustrious Children.
In the Musée moderne de Peinture
BRUSSELS

CHAPTER III
PICTURES AND DRAWINGS

PICTURES

I

1839. HENRI DE CAISNE. (1799-1852. Belgian School).

"La Belgique couronnant ses Enfants illustres."

On canvas. Dimensions: c. 20 feet by 16 feet 6 inches (6 m. 28 × 5 m. 17).

In the Musée Moderne de Peinture.

IT is a curious fact that no separate portrait of Vesalius is to be found in the collections of the Musée Royal de Peinture at Brussels. But the figure of the great anatomist appears in the vast symbolical composition by De Caisne, exhibited in Room II of the Musée Moderne de Peinture.

The origin of this remarkable achievement is thus described by L. Alvin* :—

"It was in the course of a banquet presided over by a Minister of the King of the Belgians (M. Ch. Rogier, Minister of the Interior), after the Exhibition of 1833, that, yielding to the impulsive enthusiasm of the moment, De Caisne offered to paint without remuneration (save only the expenses entailed) a great picture representing the most illustrious of the sons of Belgium, from Godefroid de Bouillon onwards to the present day. This canvas, according to the suggestion of the artist, was to have been placed in the Palais de la Représentation nationale . . .

"As usually happens in such cases the project, as the painter proceeded with his task, assumed greater and greater proportions . . . Not until 1839 was the promise of 1833 fulfilled. The public hastened in crowds to the Brussels Salon to see and judge of this prodigious work"

* See : *Notice biographique sur le peintre bruxellois Henri De Caisne, par L. Alvin, membre de l'Académie Royale de Belgique.* Bruxelles, 1854, p. 48 *et seq.* Reprinted from Vol. XXI, No. 10, of the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (Nov. 1854).

in which eighty persons, men and women, were grouped without confusion.

“De Caisne’s picture was not destined to occupy the place for which the artist designed it. From the exhibition building of 1839 it passed to the ‘Temple des Augustins,’ which had become a sort of national Pantheon. Set up at the end of the choir of this ancient church, then put to other than purely religious purposes, it seemed, as was declared, to preside over ‘all the many solemn ceremonials connected with the intellectual and moral future of the fatherland.’”

Vesalius is represented as standing, in the foreground on the right, amongst the illustrious personages assembled in the immense hall, a magnificent apartment designed in free, very free and playful Gothic. He dominates his neighbours—a concession to moral truth at the expense of literal fact. In his left hand he holds a thick folio, and he turns his head towards the spectator. He wears a dark blue robe, with a reddish yellow mantle thrown across the shoulder.

From the point of view of resemblance, the spectator is apt to rebel against the tallness of the figure until he realizes that the painter has aimed at dealing figuratively with his subject—a conventional symbolism often allowed in compositions of the kind. Among all these mighty sons of Belgium, Rubens alone is here a greater figure than Vesalius. Yet the height with which the painter is endowed—perhaps a fellow artist’s prejudice—has no authority in history, although the probability that he was the taller of the two must be allowed.

The features adhere closely to those in the *Fabrica* as rendered by Calcar, yet not without a hint of the portraits at the Royal College of Physicians and the Académie de Médecine in Paris. The artist has clearly sought a golden mean between the portraits which in De Caisne’s day were regarded with chiefest respect, if not with entire confidence, by the connoisseur public of Belgium. As a matter of fact, in compositions such as these, an artist commonly declines to hold himself too securely bound by material details; neither does he sacrifice his arrangement to chronology—for which reason, in the present case, for example, we find Van Dyck and Van Eyck side by side, apparently engaged in lively discussion, while they pay no heed at all to the superb Personification of Belgium who is proclaiming their apotheosis.*

* This picture was very finely lithographed by Billóin and published under the title: *Les Belges illustres* (see *infra*). The plate has a special value not only as a very noteworthy example of its class and of a method which had not long been brought to its highest perfection: it reveals to us portions of the original picture which have now faded, especially the decorated details of the upper region which have almost disappeared from the canvas.



ANDRÉ VESALE

By E. J. C. HAMMAN (1849)

(From the Lithograph by A. Mouilleron)

ROTTERDAM

(See p. 185.)



ANDREAS VESALIUS DISSECTING A BODY IN SECRET

By ERNEST BOARD, R.W.A.

In the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum

LONDON



II

1849. EDOUARD JEAN CONRAD HAMMAN. (1819-1888. French School).

"André Vésale."

This picture has been three times reproduced in lithography: firstly, by A. Mouilleron; then in larger size (folio) by Milster; and lastly by J. S. Schubert. It has at least twice been admirably engraved on wood on a small scale: 3 in. by 4 in. (7.5 cm. × 10 cm.) by F. Wiesener (published by Méguignon-Marvis), and on a larger scale for Dr. Choulant's book (see *infra*).

Vesalius, standing and seen full-face, looks towards a crucifix which hangs on the wall, as if confident in his divine mission although denounced by the ignorant as sacrilegious, yet fearing the entrance of an intruder—perhaps of the police, of whom, as Burggraeve reminds us, the anatomist had good reason to stand in dread.

His left hand rests upon the arm of a recumbent male corpse, shown in greatly foreshortened perspective, the head directed towards the spectator. The window-shutters are all closed save one which is far enough ajar to let light pass for the work he has in hand. The scene is sufficiently illumined: the resultant effect of light-and-shade is manifestly the artistic *motif* of the picture, as is the subject its dramatic theme. On the table at the left lie the dissection-instruments and a skull—an item borrowed from Devaux's portrait of Vesalius belonging to the Académie Royale de Médecine de Belgique. A folio volume—either the *Fabrica* or Galen's text—stands upon the lectern beside the body.

Dr. Ludwig Choulant* records that when this large and admirably composed and painted picture was exhibited in 1849 in Brussels it won a veritable triumph for the artist; and that it passed immediately into the private collection of a picture-lover of Rotterdam. It is reproduced in Choulant's book by a wood-engraver not less skilful than Wiesener, and on a larger scale.

* See *Geschichte und Bibliographie der Anatomischen Abbildung*, etc., 1852.

III

1859. EDOUARD JEAN CONRAD HAMMAN (*ut supra*).

“*Andreas Vesalius at Padua, in 1546.*”

In the Municipal Collection at Marseilles, Palais de Longchamp.
(No. 960 in the Catalogue.)

*On canvas. Dimensions: 3 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft. 7 in. (97 cm. × 1 m.
39 cm.)*

Signed and dated, at bottom on the right: *ED. HAMMAN,*
1859.

Exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1859 (No. 1392), and lithographed
by A. Mouilleron. It was purchased from the artist in 1863 for
5,000 fr.

In the Catalogue of the Museum (1908) this striking picture is thus
described by the Curator, M. Philippe Auquier:—

“The artist’s inspiration for his composition was the following
passage in the biography of André Vésale: ‘Having learnt that his
system of anatomy was being attacked in Italy with renewed violence,
he caused it to be publicly announced that on certain stated dates he
would give demonstrations at Bologna, at Padua, and at Pisa, to which
he invited the attendance of his adversaries in order to confound them
by proof of his discoveries on the human corpse itself. Men of the
greatest eminence hastened from all parts of Europe to take part in these
new discussions. . . In these demonstrations Vesalius surpassed himself;
his triumph was complete. The amphitheatres could not accommodate
the crowds who sought admission.*

“On the rising steps, or seats, of the vast class-room,† a hundred
interested spectators—doctors, monks, and men of learning and of high
position, are grouped around the Master and the naked body placed

* The actual facts are here somewhat strained. At Padua—the first appointed place of
meeting—the adversaries of Vesalius put in no appearance. At Bologna the discussion was
violent. Not until that at Pisa did he achieve his veritable, definitive triumph.

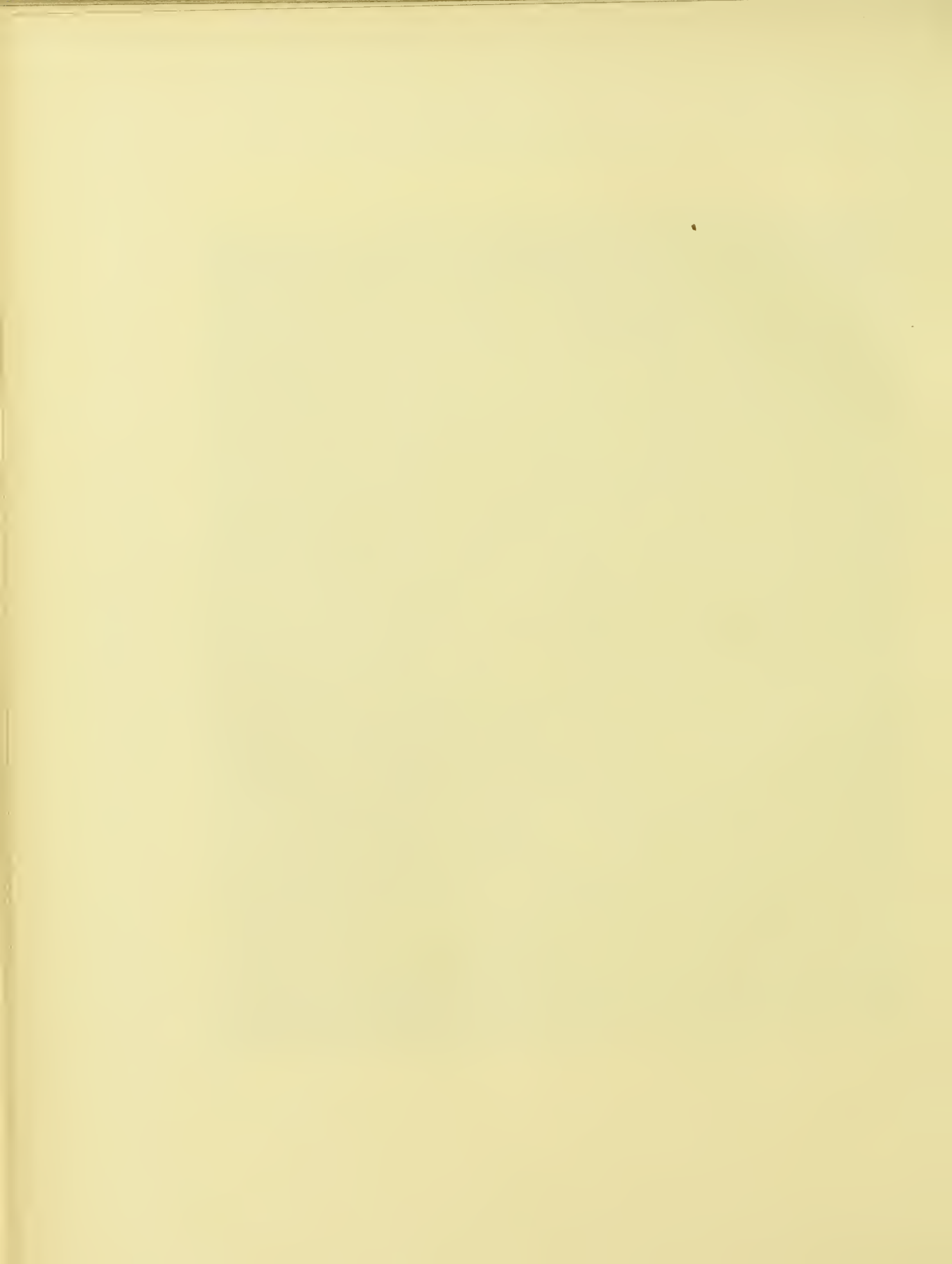
† As to the chamber here represented, it can hardly be doubted that Hamman has
borrowed for his background the scene of the anatomy lesson contained in the engraved
Title-page of Pieter Paaw’s *De Humani Corporis Ossibus* of 1633—a work to which we shall
have to return when we come to consider “The Staging of Anatomy-Lessons” apropos of the
Fabrica Title-page.



By E. J. C. HAMMAN (1859)

Andreas Vesalius at Padua in 1546

In the Palais de Longchamp (Musée des Beaux-Arts)
MARSEILLES



before him on the dissection-table. The daylight, striking in through the high windows on the right, falls effectively on the demonstrator and his subject, which it brings into brilliant relief. Vesalius, amply draped in his professorial robe, rests his left hand, which holds a *bistouri*, on the breast of the corpse, while, raising his other hand, he declares the irrefutability of his assertions. Near him, on a lectern, a folio lies open to assist him in his demonstrations."

The artist has shown great intelligence in the way in which he has drawn all the elements essential for his purpose from the Title-page of the *Fabrica* and has combined them in a scene more convincing and far more probable than that presented in the magnificent architectural temple imagined by the 16th-century designer. The symbolical details are suppressed—the barbers, the naked man, the monkey, and the rest, as well as the coat-of-arms and the imposing surroundings; but the chief types of individuals are retained. The portrait of Vesalius departs but little from that in the Woodcut of the *Fabrica*—it is the very man of history, with authoritative gesture and imposing aspect, who keeps his place admirably in the composition and dominates the scene. The whole is full of dignity, happily devoid of the theatrical savour which detracts from the artist's other picture, "*André Vésale*," which has just been described.

As to the gesture of which M. Auquier speaks, its true significance is that the Folio is not, as is suggested, a volume which is to assist him in his demonstration, but is the *Fabrica* itself. It is not that Vesalius uses the book to illustrate his dissection, but that he uses the body to verify, to prove, and to bear witness to his written word, which it was the business of his proceedings to justify. This dead body is meant to be one of those which the Pisans had provided for this historic occasion, for the settlement of the dispute between Vesalius and his calumniators to whom—it might almost be said, *at* whom—he had flung his challenge.

This picture is not continuously on exhibition at the Musée de Longchamp. A small illustration of it is published in the catalogue. For the representation here given the picture was by permission specially photographed for this work.

IV

1870. ERNEST SLINGENEYER. (1823-1894. Belgian School).

"The Sciences: The Anatomist Vésale, surgeon in the Army of Charles the Fifth, practises his profession on the field of Battle."

In the Palais des Académies (Grande Salle) in Brussels. Mural decoration. Arched top.

On canvas. Dimensions: 14 ft. by 9 ft. (4 m. 23 × 2 m. 69).

This large work is one of the series of wall-paintings which decorate the panels of the vast main hall of the Palais Ducal, the noble structure overlooking the Parc royal. In intention the conception is symbolical rather than historical or even romantic. On a battlefield, Vesalius, the central dominating figure of the composition, is shown, clothed in black, set with striking effect against a brilliant sky seen at sun-down. He stands beside a wounded soldier who lies with bared breast before him, and he places his left hand upon the region of the heart, while a woman and a white monk turn anxiously towards him. The furious fight sketched in the background is intended by its violence of movement to act as a foil to the complete calm of the foreground scene and to add emphasis to the dignity and quiet self-possession of the man of science. The artist has endowed him with a leanness, a stature, and an elegance more characteristic of the painter himself—as well as distinctive of the art of his School—than of the true aspect of the anatomist. On the left a windmill closes in the scene; above floats the imperial standard—a purely decorative convention in the staging of the scene introduced with unquestionable skill.

From the point of view of resemblance, therefore, the portrait is without value. It is based, but with a freedom that amounts to licence, on a copy made by Slingeneyer of the picture belonging to the Académie de Médecine of Paris, which copy is in the possession of the Académie Royale de Médecine de Belgique (*q.v.*). The eyes are too small; the hair and beard, against all authority, are black; the character is altogether lost; the type has no relation to that of the woodcut portrait in the *Fabrica*. Even as an historical allegory it lacks the true element of history, while as a piece of decorative art it lacks the true element of decoration. It should, however, be explained that this criticism does not impugn Slingeneyer's ability as an artist: it is directed against any claim he might have made to be regarded as a great historical painter.

It was in 1870 that the ambitious series of twelve panel paintings was



By E. SLINGENEYER

THE SCIENCES

The Anatomist Vésale, surgeon in the Army of Charles the Fifth, practises his Profession on the
Field of Battle

In the Palais des Académies

BRUSSELS



completed. The artist's aim was to produce a "synthesis of the principal phases of the political and intellectual history of Belgium." In order to make clear to the public the artist's conception a pamphlet elaborating his idea in words was issued, from which official document the following information may be drawn:—

Slingeneyer, in his plan of depicting the Belgian triumph in the field of science, was desirous of abstaining from a scheme such as De Caisne's—that of uniting all the most eminent men and women of all periods in a single composition or even in a series. In the present case he had to select one from among twenty-seven individuals who might fairly be accepted as the recognized representatives of Belgian science. He did not hesitate for a moment in deciding in favour of the man "whose universal fame proclaimed him the personification, in a synthetic sense, of science, and to place him in the most favourable light in order to illustrate the splendour of his merit and the elevation of his character. This man was Vesalius. He might have been represented as the creator of human anatomy teaching in public at Padua the science which, thanks to him, had emerged from the domain of hypothesis and empiricism—or else as fulfilling his official functions at the Court of Philip II. It was thought better to represent him as the surgeon of the armies of Charles the Fifth, practising his dangerous profession on the field of battle, for science, noble in itself, is enhanced in its nobility when directed to humanitarian purposes. The man of scientific erudition who devotes himself to the happiness or the well-being and the health of his fellow-men, and whose genius courts the heroism of sacrifice, outshines him who in safety, in the ease of his own study, seeks and finds the solution of problems unfraught with danger to himself. Such is the argument which inspired the artist in his selection of Vesalius as the personification of science in Belgium." *

When this picture was first exhibited it bore the title of—*Le Médecin Vésale suit l'Armée de Charles-Quint*. The composition is closely allied in scheme and arrangement to that painted by Louis Matout in the great amphitheatre of the Faculté de Médecine at Paris—the central panel—entitled: "*Ambroise Paré appliquant pour la première fois la ligature aux artères après une amputation.*"

* *Description des peintures exécutées par M. E. Slingeneyer, dans la grande salle du Palais ducal, de Bruxelles.* Bruxelles, 1870 (p. 35). The author professes to speak the artist's own words.

V

1908. ERNEST BOARD. (1877. Living artist. British School.)

"Andreas Vesalius, the great anatomist, dissecting a body in secret."

In the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London.

On canvas. Dimensions: 24 in. by 36 in. (61 cm. × 91 cm.).

The commission for this picture was given to Mr. Board in 1908, the date of the painting. It belongs to a series of thirty-five kindred works illustrating the history of medicine now in the Museum.

Mr. Board, member of the Royal West of England Academy, who might best be classed as a neo-Preraphaelite—being inspired by the Brotherhood founded by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Millais, Holman Hunt, and their School—is well known for his remarkable talent and for his originality as an artist. Nevertheless, in the present instance he has adopted the most commonly recognized method of representing an historical subject, and, moreover, has manifestly produced his picture with Hamman's earlier composition before his mind's eye. The subject and treatment, indeed, were suggested to the artist by the Curator of the Museum.

Vesalius, clad in blue, is represented in an underground chamber, scalpel in hand, leaning over the body lying on a table. He hears footsteps—he fears interruption of the passer-by whose feet can be seen through the high-placed window, and he hastens to throw a drapery over the corpse. Before him, on the left, a volume rests on a book-stand; behind him hangs a grey curtain; at the right, a window, and at the side a red chair. The composition is simpler, more dramatic and less theatrical than Hamman's "André Vésale." The portrait follows Engelmann's and Vignerón's lithograph after the *Fabrica* Woodcut.*

* Hamman and Mr. Board were not the first to illustrate the subject of a surreptitious dissection-scene, nor was Vesalius the first to be the hero of it. Michael Angelo (whose death occurred eight months before that of Vesalius) has more than once been portrayed in a cellar with a dead body before him eagerly prosecuting his studies in secret by torchlight. One of the most popular of these pictures is the painting by A. Mercia—with the unnecessary detail of the torch stuck into the bleeding groin of the body used as a candlestick: a tasteless elaboration. Was the subject so recently dead? Leonardo da Vinci and his dissections have been similarly recorded.

NOTE.

The pictorial section of this iconography is here concluded. The reader who has taken the trouble to follow the illustration of the subject, and the arguments and demonstrations to which they have given rise, will not have failed to recognize, perhaps with some surprise, not only on what slender authority (often indeed, on what complete lack of it) portraits bearing little or no likeness to the anatomist have been labelled with his name, but with what recklessness and ignorance the claim has frequently been made. A concluding example may be given for curiosity's sake.

It is one of the strangest and wildest as well as one of the most characteristic among all the so-called "discoveries." This is no other than the identification as a portrait of Vesalius of the figure of Dr. Tulpius in Rembrandt's world-famous "Anatomy Lesson." Had the attribution been made in some obscure sheet, it might have been passed by in silence; but as the blunder has been recorded—if only out of ridicule—in no less important a journal than the brilliant *L'Art** of Paris, it may be held worthy of mention. In its *Chronique française* we find this exclamation of surprise:—

"A daily journal has published the following 'discovery': '*The Portrait of Vesalius*. Everyone knows the engraving of "The Anatomy Lesson" after a picture by Rembrandt. There are few doctors' antechambers or consulting rooms where it is not to be seen. We are there shown Vesalius lecturing before a corpse to his students on the mysteries of the human body. . . .'"

The reflection of *L'Art* on this original piece of information is pleasing in its affected simplicity: "The author of these lines has little doubt that he has made an astonishing discovery of his own . . . Hitherto everybody, beginning with Rembrandt, has been under the impression that the doctor was no other than the Professor Nicolaas Pieterzoon Tulp, etc., whose name is inscribed on the picture, as well as the names of his auditors."

The fact that Rembrandt was born fifty-eight years after Vesalius died, and that all the figures are attired in costumes of Rembrandt's own day, might be thought to have weighed with the author of the discovery. Absurd as it is, this new identification is scarcely more foolish than several of those with which we have already been compelled to deal.

* *L'Art*. 1876. Vol. II., p. 89.

The fact that there is a serious anatomical blunder in this world-famous picture will be new to most readers outside the medical profession—to nearly every art-student, connoisseur, and critic. Professor William Wright* while pointing out that a dissection similar to that shown in the *Fabrica* Woodcut is figured in the "Anatomy Lesson," where Nicholas Tulpius is the chief and central figure, informs me that "Rembrandt in the picture commits the error of showing the flexor muscles arising from the outer side of the elbow instead of from the inner side."

DRAWINGS

I

TITLE-PAGE OF THE *FABRICA*.

Artist unknown (conjecturally attributed to *Calcar*).

At the University of Glasgow.

On paper. Dimensions: on the same scale as the Woodcut, but the greater part of the architectural design is here omitted and but a portion indicated. There is a space of 4 in. bare (10 cm.) above the skull; in the original it is $5\frac{3}{8}$ (13.5 cm.). On the other hand, there is a little more at the bottom, from where also all decoration and constructional design had been suppressed. There is here an increase of $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (6 mm.). It is to be noted that in the Woodcut $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (3 cm.) separate the *cartouche* and the head of the skull—in the drawing $1\frac{3}{8}$ (3.5 cm.). These details are all important for the judging of the question of authenticity.

The University of Glasgow possesses several drawings representing plates in the *Fabrica*. Only that reproducing the title-page need detain us. It is the only one wholly in line; the rest have the shadows washed in.

This drawing has been the subject of much discussion for and against, ever since it came into the ownership of the University.

* Dean, and Professor of Anatomy, the London Hospital Medical College, London.



Drawing attributed to CALCAR
Corresponding with the Title-page of the *Fabrica*, 1543
At the University
GLASGOW



Whether or not it is the original of the Title-page—and therefore whether it is or is not from the hand of Calcar himself—has been the *crux criticorum*. The design, done on two sheets of paper joined horizontally three-quarters of an inch (1.8 cm.) below the balustrade, comprises practically nothing but the figures, the balustrades, and the dissection-table. It is a fair counterpart of the Woodcut title-page, but the workmanship, style, and “hand” are certainly not the same. The design is reversed, as might be expected in the original drawing for an engraving, for a woodcut made the same way as a drawing copied by the engraver would print reversed. This, then, counts in favour of the originality and priority of the drawing.

But a copyist will often lightly trace over an original and then “set off” his drawing upon paper to be there re-drawn and completed. This provides a valid reply *contra*. And the opposition is strengthened by the fact that so far as the architectural design above has been sketched in it is accurate, and yet, curiously enough, there are revealed no perspective lines by which it has been worked out; in so correct a sketch these would certainly be looked for. Moreover, in the whole composition, with its elaborate grouping of a vast number of figures, masterly in their arrangement, variety, and rendering, there is no indication of any corrections, of any hesitation, consideration or reconsideration, reduplication of lines, or trial-attempts, such as are almost invariably present in such a working-out. That is in itself suspicious, for so complicated an original design without a revision in it is almost incredible. This being so, it inclines us inductively to the belief that the draughtsman must have had a completed thing before him to copy, otherwise he could scarcely have produced “right off” so confidently arranged and admirably-intricate a design. The drawing, indeed, gives on the one hand evidence of very high ability and, on the other, inexplicable signs of weakness, incompatible with the whole.

The several differences which are to be found, especially in details, are suggestive. The relation of the outer foot and leg of the boy who has charge of the monkey does not quite correspond to that in the Woodcut, while in the drawing a piece of drapery is cast over the passage; this, according to some, connotes originality; according to others, it is a very ordinary subterfuge to conceal recognized error. Nor has the relation of the man’s leg and part of the body close by been understood by the draughtsman, because—as we learn from the Woodcut—it really belongs to a man the rest of whose figure, leaning forward, is entirely hidden by the dignified personage in the foreground beside the

table: only a slight indication is given of the back part of his head behind that of the masking figure. In the drawing this explanation is not given or even suggested. Again, the draperies on which the legs of the corpse repose result in the drawing in a far less artistic arrangement than in the cut; and, furthermore, the perspective of the table against which the demonstrator stands, is in the drawing faulty. But the principal failure is in the head of Vesalius himself: it bears practically no resemblance to the portrait; it is wholly lacking in dignity and character; and—an important detail—the hair grows backwards in a way seen in no other of his approved portraits. The draughtsman of the Woodcut portrait could hardly have produced these errors. To the obvious retort that we might expect such weaknesses in a drawing subsequently corrected in the finished work on the block itself, there is the natural and logical rejoinder that the nature of the blunder is in opposition to the character of the design and drawing as a whole.

Careful consideration of all the evidence and all the facts so far leads us to reject the claim of priority made on behalf of the drawing. But here we must pause for a moment.

For a small detail—so small that it had escaped hitherto the notice of all who have examined and reported on the drawing—compels us to suspend judgment for a while: further attention must be given to the point. It is this. Looking at the *Woodcut* you will see on the left of the skeleton a young man reading a book the cover of which is turned towards the spectator. On each panel of the cover, the right and the left, appears an oval—O, O—more clearly seen in the 1555 edition than in the first edition, which one would naturally regard as an elementary piece of summary decoration. No one would give it a second glance, if even a first had rested upon it. But in the drawing it is not quite the same. On the left hand cover is the O: but on the other is an upright line signifying I; of this there can be no doubt. Reversed, as it would be in printing, this would read I, O. Now, if we turn again to the Woodcut title-page and raise our eyes to the monogram on the left of the coat-of-arms we see that it is composed of the initials I O—that is to say, the initials of Professor Ioannes Oporinus, the printer and publisher of Vesalius's two books issued in the same year—the *Fabrica*, and the *Epitome*! We must ask ourselves if these initials were drawn upon the book-covers by intention, or whether they are a mere coincidence. If not a coincidence, why were they modified in the Woodcut? Is it to be supposed that the idea of the initials on the book-cover was abandoned

in favour of the monogram afterwards adopted on the gallery above? Or if the introduction of the initials of Oporinus be not accidental, were they placed there as an afterthought, inspired by intentional mystification by the maker of the drawing? If so, why should a faker have imported a piece of fraudulent evidence so subtle as to attract none but the most watchful eyes?

In the solution of this problem lies perhaps the partial if not complete explanation of the mystery. It is, however, but an incident in the story. The artistic aspect, in the present writer's opinion, should be held to guide us in our conclusion; and so far as he is concerned his judgment, for the reasons given, is against the priority of the drawing.

II

PORTRAIT OF THE *FABRICA*.

Artist unknown.

At Munich.

Pen-drawing, washed-in in two colours—pink for the flesh-tints, etc., and greenish-grey for the hair, draperies, shadows, etc.

On paper. Dimensions: $6\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{16}$ in. (17.4 cm. × 12.4 cm.).

The corners are cut off.

Towards the end of the year 1913 this drawing was brought to my notice by a reputable dealer of Munich, requesting secrecy for the time being.* It is a free copy, slightly reduced, of the Woodcut portrait in the *Fabrica*, of which it was suggested that it might be the original. Yet in this case Vesalius grasps the arm of the subject for dissection above the elbow, instead of below it.† His left hand is accordingly on a level with his nose, and his right hand is raised to the height of the subject's fingers on a level with his chest—the reason being that the forearm is raised and considerably foreshortened. The attitude is thus essentially modified; the composition, however, is well managed. The head has been, as it were, beautified, but at the expense of the expression of intellectual energy and playful good-nature characteristic of the engraving. The draughtsmanship of the whole is weak, yet not without ability.

* The sum of forty-five dollars was asked for it, but the offer was declined.

† This accords with the relief-sculpture on the Ratsapotheke at Lemgo, c. 1612 (see *infra*), and with that alone. This fact suggests that the draughtsman must have drawn his inspiration from that work with its original arrangement. Possibly he intended it to be thought that the drawing was the first study for the sculpture, or else the source of it.

Although the drawing seems to have been favourably regarded by persons claiming some measure of *expertise*, it is, I am satisfied, of modern execution, made certainly not more than a hundred years ago—probably not more than seventy. It has the air of being the work of some draughtsman-engraver, or of his apprentice, and intended as a design for a plate. The paper on which it is drawn is stained at the back with brown patches such as we often see in fraudulent Old Master drawings, as if it had passed through the hands of a faker desirous of catching a customer. Its watermark—an oval, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height (4 cm.), enclosing a floriated spearhead—occurs, upside down, beneath the beard. By this indication it should not be difficult to establish the date of the paper, if not of the drawing.

Its present whereabouts are unknown ; its only importance lies in the fact that it may some day impose on some collector or institution and gain a too ready acceptance as a genuine work.

A similar drawing, evidently from the same hand, and exactly the same in every respect—even to the paper, blotches and watermark (except only that the anatomist grasps the arm of the subject as in the Woodcut)—has recently made its appearance. It seems to have been sent forth from Rome.

CHAPTER IV

ENGRAVINGS*

I.—THE PORTRAITS IN THE *FABRICA*.

I. 1542-1543. ANONYMOUS.†

The portrait of Vesalius, cut on wood, appeared in the treatise *De Humani Corporis Fabricâ Libri septem*, and in the *Epitome* (both 1543), as well as in the German edition of the *Fabrica* (1543), and in the *Epistola . . . radices Chynæ* (1546).

Dimensions: $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.6 cm. × 14.5 cm.).

Drawn, engraved, and dated 1542. Published in 1543.

The attribution of the drawing to Jan van Calcar may be accepted as correct.

1^A. 1555. Same portrait and engraving.‡

In the second edition of the *Fabrica*, published in Bâle in 1555.

The woodblock is the same as that printed in the first edition (1543).§

* The Engravings are entered under the names of the Engravers, not of the artists, and as far as possible in chronological order.

† This Woodcut has already been dealt with in our first chapter.

‡ It is easy to distinguish to which book each of the three different impressions of this Woodcut belongs, when found apart from the volume. Above the portrait in each case appears the printed name, ANDREÆ VESALII. In the first edition (1543) the space occupied by these words is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. (9.8 cm.) wide; in the second edition (1555) it is $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (8.1 cm.) wide; and in the *Epistola . . . Chynæ* it is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.5 cm.) wide. It is to be noted that in the impressions of 1546 and 1555 the block has suffered damage at the top left corner, and can be so recognized.

§ Professor Roth was in error in supposing that the block used in 1555 is not the same as that of 1543. This first error entails a second—the claiming as evidence the presence of the mark over the right eyebrow (the *Muttermal* = birth-mark, or wart) as “confirmation” that the mark is an element of the true portraiture! The fact is that this so-called “repetition” is not repetition at all, but a simple case of the reprinting of the same woodblock.

[On the copy in the Library of the Royal Society of Medicine (of London) the seventeenth-century owner of the book has written at the foot of the portrait the following couplet :

*Si cupis angelicum Vesali cernere Vultum,
Aspice quem propriâ pinxerat ipse Manû. i.e. Librum
F. Looher (? F. Locker) Chir. Lond.
fecit extempore . . .”.]*

1^B. 1642. ANONYMOUS

Line-engraving, after the Woodcut.

Dimensions : $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19 cm. \times 15 cm.).

Published in the edition of the *Epitome* by Nicolaus Fontanus.*

This plate is extremely poor, for all its pretension. The engraved line, technically considered, is not without skill, but it is evident that the engraver was wholly unused to portrait-engraving. The eyes and mouth are very badly rendered ; the beard is stiff, solid, and out of drawing ; a book replaces the document seen upon the table in the original Woodcut—a detail which proves lack of comprehension on the engraver’s part ; and the execution of the whole is summary and “cheap.” It is curious that so poor a portrait-plate should have been admitted into a book which is decorated with a title-page so admirable and striking. (This plate is described later on.)

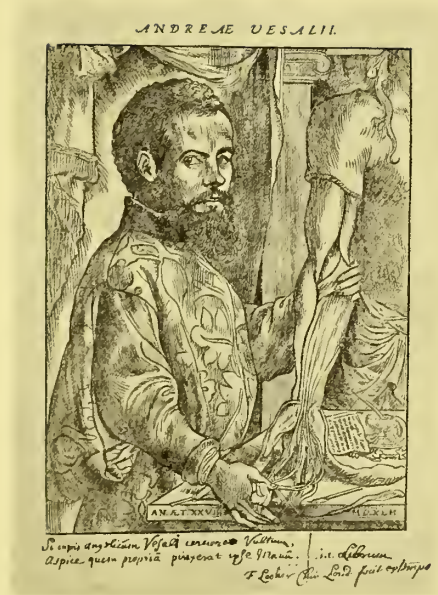
1^C. 1725. JAN WANDELAAR (1691-1759. Dutch School).

Line-engraving ; after the Woodcut.

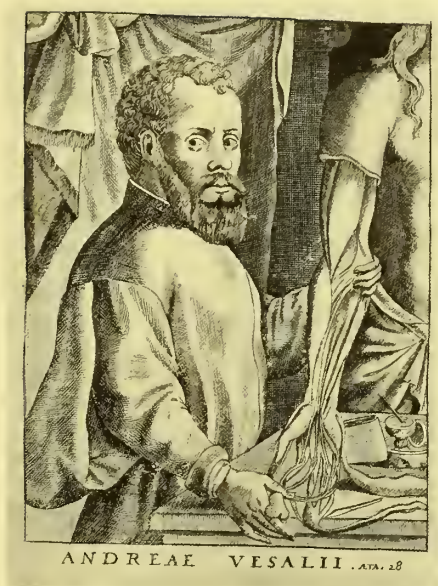
Dimensions : $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.4 cm. \times 14.5 cm.) within the border ; 8 in. by $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20.3 cm. \times 15 cm.) including the border.

As a technical achievement this beautiful copper-plate is altogether excellent. Wandelaar, whose best works are the anatomical plates which he engraved for the *Tabulæ* of Albinus, was a perfect master of his craft. But as a portraitist he was no more accurate than many another master-engraver at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He certainly aimed at making a true copy of the Woodcut ; nevertheless he has modified the shape of the head, which he has lengthened and

* *Librorum Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis de Humani Corporis Fabrica Epitome cum Annotationibus Nicolai Fontani Amstelredamensis Medici.* Amstelodami : Apud Ioannem Ianssonium. c16 1642



1A.—Woodcut in the Second Edition of the *Fabrica*, 1555 (to show the damaged top corner)



1B.—Copper-plate copy of the *Fabrica* Woodcut in N. Fontanus's Edition of the *Epitome*, 1642



1C.—Engraved by J. WANDELAAR for the Edition by Boerhaave and Albinus of the *Works of Vesalius*, 1725



1D.—Line Engraving after the Plate by J. WANDELAAR

heightened; he has rendered the nose as longer, yet with less projection and with less character, and the beard as not only longer but smoother and more wavy. The female breast of the corpse, given with slight definition in the original, is here emphasized. The inscription-motto on the table-front: AN. ÆT. XXVIII MDXLII; OCVVS IVCVNDE ET TVTO—is carefully reproduced, but the first two letters of *jucunde* are in part masked by the fingers of the demonstrator.

The plate bears the name of the engraver in the lower left corner: *J. Wandelaar fecit*. Beneath is the inscription:

ANDREAS VESALIUS | *Bruxellensis* | *Invictissimi Caroli V.*
Imperatoris Medicus.

Certain necessary modifications have been introduced in the inscription on the paper lying on the table, as already explained in our remarks on the large portrait-woodcut of the *Fabrica*.

This plate, together with the reproduction in line by the artist of the title-page described later on, was engraved for the edition of the works of Vesalius by Hermann Boerhaave and Bernhard Siegfried Albinus: "*Andree Vesalii . . . Opera Omnia Anatomica—Chirurgica . . .*: Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Joannem du Vivié et Joan. Herm. Verbeck. Bibliop. MDCCXXV."

1^D. XVIIIth Century. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving, after the Woodcut.

Dimensions: oval, $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. (13.6 cm. × 9.8 cm.).

Inscription: ANDREAS VESALIUS.

This excellent engraving, well copied from that by Wandelaar, equals it alike in technical skill and in beauty. The oval shape adopted necessitates the omission of certain details, and, moreover, the inkstand and the sheet of paper, as well as the superscription on the table-front, have been suppressed. As to the face, it presents the same defects as are to be found in the copy. Vesalius is shown holding the dissected arm of the subject.

These portraits appear to be the only ones which need be mentioned here as directly derived in all essential details from that by Calcar. Numerous reproductions of it are to be found in the works of Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell (1874), Professor Roth (1885, 1886, 1892), Alphonse Wauters (1897), in Professor William Stirling's *Some Apostles of Physiology*

(1902), as well as in other publications. The same portrait has been reproduced in the certificates awarded by the City of Brussels in its municipal schools; but in this case Onghena's engraved copy is perhaps the basis of it.

A reduction of the original Woodcut appears in Roth's essay, "*Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis—Rektoratsrede—am 26 November 1885*" (Basel—Benno Schwabe, 1886; 8vo.). Although signed "KNAUS sc." it is given out as a "photoxylographie"—that is to say, an engraving on wood on which the original engraving was photographed (in reduced size) in order to be cut. The engraver was therefore free to make what additions or modifications he pleased. He has here and there taken some slight advantage of his opportunity. The little woodcut has been executed with considerable skill. The size is $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{8}$ (13 cm. \times 9.7 cm.).


II.—THE TITLE-PAGES OF THE *FABRICA*.

2. 1543. ANONYMOUS.*

Title-page of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri septem*, 1543; (and of the *Epitome* of the same date—see *infra*.)†

Woodcut. Dimensions: 14 in. by $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. (35.5 cm. \times 25 cm.).

Drawn in all probability by JAN STEPHAN VAN CALCAR.

Monogram: above, beside the left window, I and O interlaced: 

This monogram is not that of either the artist or the engraver, but of the publisher and printer, Joannes Oporinus, friend of Vesalius and

* Christoforo Coriolano, among others, has been suggested as the artist, perhaps even the engraver, of the title-page as well as of the plates of the *Fabrica*. Dr. Choulant (*Geschichte der Anatomischen Abbildung*, Leipzig, 1852) mentions his name as an alternative to that of Titian, while admitting that the first known work of Christoforo is dated 1568: by which, no doubt, he means the portraits that, according to Vasari, Christoforo under the name of "Christophano" had engraved for his first edition. But this Christophano can hardly be other than Christoph Chrieger. Bryan says that Coriolano was born in 1540. A copy of the title-page in my possession is inscribed in a 17th century hand: "Christoforo Coriolano 1560-16—." It is certain that this engraver could not have been the author of this celebrated plate.

† The title-page, as well as the portrait, appeared in the same year in the German edition of the *Epitome*, published in Bâle by Albanus Torinus: ". . . Gedruckt zu Basel, bey Johann Herpst, genant Oporino . . . inum 1543 Jar." The original blocks were used for the illustration of Maschenbauer's two editions, at "Augsburg"—that of 1706, intended for artists, and that of 1723, intended for artists and medical men. These original woodcuts, the Title-page among them, which the Protomedicus von Wolter had purchased, were also printed from by Leveling in 1783 (see the BIBLIOGRAPHY, *infra*.)



2. The Woodcut Title-page of the *FABRICA*, 1543,
with Vesalius demonstrating

(Incorrectly assumed to represent an anatomy lesson in the Great Amphitheatre of the University of Padua. An Amphitheatre did not then exist)

professor of Greek at Bâle, whose real name was Johann Herbst or Herbster.* The presence of this monogram is a great curiosity, as it is probably the only known 16th century example of a publisher's signature on a plate to the exclusion of that of the artist.† There are two inscriptions :

(a) In the upper cartouche, in printer's characters :—ANDREAE VESALII | BRVXELLENSIS, SCHOLAE | medicorum Patauinae professoris, de | Humani corporis fabrica | Libri septem.

(b) In a small *cartel* at the level of the raised floor, inset in the square recess in front :—

CVM CAESAREAE | *Maiest. Galliarum Regis, ac Senatus Veneti gra | tia & priuilegio, ut in diplomatis eorundem continetur.*

And at the foot of the page, outside the field of the engraving, the word : BASILIAE.

This plate is of a very high order of its class from every point of view—alike as to conception, arrangement, character, drawing, "colour," and cutting of the block. The cutting has been done with a skill so remarkable that it not only gives fullest value to the original composition of the draughtsman but actually assists it. At the same time, it must be

* Cf. Dryander = Eichmann; Sylvius = Dubois; Helvetius = Schweitzer; Carolus Stephanus = Charles Estienne; Andreas Laurentius = André Dulaurens, etc. It was the fashion for learned men to classicize their names not only in form, but also, when the names lent themselves to it, in meaning also. The practice found its way into England at a later date. As Camden says, in his *Remains concerning Britain* (1603)—"This translation of names into Latin and Greek is still in use among the Germans, for he whose name is Ertswept or Blackland will be *Melaucthon*; if Newman, *Neander*; if Hollieman, *Osiander*; if Brooke, *Torrentius*; if Fenne, Paludanus, &c., which some among us began lately to imitate." Mercator, Erasmus, and others of greatest note thus saw fit not so much to classicize as in effect to internationalize their names and thus to render them familiar throughout the whole common ground of learned Europe.

It will be remembered that the portrait in the Museum at Bâle (No. 293) of the painter Hans Herbster, the father of Oporinus, painted by Ambrose Holbein (formerly attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder) bears the inscription:—IOANNES HERBSTER PICTOR OPORINI PATER, with the date 1516.

It is on record that while Ambrose Holbein painted the portrait of the father of Oporinus, the younger brother—the great Hans Holbein—painted the picture of a corpse belonging to Vesalius, the friend of Herbster's learned son. This is not the astonishing painting of the "Dead Christ" which hangs in the same museum; it was painted in 1521.

† See Brulliot : *Dictionnaire des Monogrammes*, etc., p. 343, No. 2638 : "Jean Oporin," he says, "named Herpst, printer at Bâle towards 1543; but he is not known as an engraver on wood, and we can connect this mark with him only in his position of editor [or publisher], for there is a translation of this work of Vesalie [*sic*] at the end of which we read : *Gedruckt zu Basel bey Johan Herpst genannt vnuud vollendet am neunten Tag des Augstmonat nach der Geburt Christi im MDXLIII Jar.*"

recognized that the artist has not wholly reached the level to which he attained in the Woodcut Portrait which we have already closely considered: the line is different in spirit, less supple and sympathetic, and has not in the same degree the artistic and pictorial quality.

As regards the "original composition of the draughtsman" it is interesting to note that Brulliot—(*Dictionnaire des Monogrammes*, etc., III. partie, No. 302 of the first appendix)—makes the curious remark: "In this title-page are to be seen figures after Raphael* and after his contemporaries." The reader has already been reminded that Calcar copied Raphael as he imitated Titian—but his acknowledged devotion to the former came later in the order of time. Then comes this remarkable statement: "It is also to be noted that the two *putti* who sustain the armorial shield are copied from a print by H. S. Beham of the year 1544 (Bartsch, No. 228). It therefore cannot be admitted that this title-page was engraved after a drawing by J. van Calcar, even though we accept the anatomical figures as after his compositions; for Calcar could never have copied Beham's prints, not even one of them which appeared in Germany in 1544, two years before his death in Naples."

The carelessness evinced in this self-contradictory declaration are patent, as in this very article Brulliot correctly gives the date of the *Fabrica* as 1543—in spite of which he does not hesitate to affirm that details in the title-page are copied *after* an engraving which he himself admits was published in the year following the appearance of the alleged copy! It is therefore clear that if the identity of the two designs is not a chance resemblance, it is Hans Sebald Beham who was the copyist of Calcar's Title-page previously published "in Germany."

It may be questioned whether, in the case of this Title-page, the designer has not made some concessions in adapting his technique in a certain measure to the capacity and the personal talent of the man who was to cut it. It is likely enough that in view of the large size of the block and of the complication of the design, with the consequent exigencies of the execution, the artist may have sought to render the cutter's work more easy—not so much in a spirit of indulgence but in order to secure a harmony for the more decorative treatment. However this may be, regarded as an achievement both in design and in execution, this plate commands our entire admiration.

* Such, presumably, are the men holding on to the column in Raphael's great "Expulsion of Helioborus from the Temple" in the Stanza of the Vatican; the dog brought into the corner as the ram is introduced in "The Sacrifice at Lyster"; and, perhaps, the crouching Barber-surgeon as the figure in "The Sacrifice of Noah"—in the Loggia in the Vatican.

The engraving represents an "Anatomy," or dissecting-demonstration, given by Vesalius at Padua in an amphitheatre magnificent in its proportions and grandiose in architectural design. In the middle, a little beyond the foreground, Vesalius surrounded by students of all ages, seventy to eighty in number, and ranged in three rows, demonstrates on the partly-dissected female body placed before him on a table. By his side an old man, drawing his "tables" from his hanging pocket, prepares to take notes. In the middle of the foreground, sitting or crouching on the ground, are the two "barbers," one of whom holds a dissecting-razor which he has been sharpening, while his companion passes another to the lecturer. On the right, a man controls a barking or panting dog; on the opposite side a youth has charge of a captive monkey which is in high revolt and finds relief to its feelings in biting a student's hand. Behind, in the "pit" as it were, between the cross bar and the hemicycle with its seven Corinthian columns, a crowd of spectators young and old concentrate their attention on the wonderful demonstration proceeding before them. At right and left above their heads two men—one dressed in the fashion of the day and the other nude—stand against the nearest columns. On the further bar is set up a skeleton holding a long staff in its bony hand.* Between the columns at the back are seen four more spectators, and at the windows above the entablature three other heads are visible, watching intently. The great *cartouche*, bearing the title of the work, supported by decorative monsters, hangs beneath the laurel-sprigged escutcheon charged with the three weasels—the device, or badge, of Vesalius.

With this shield we have already dealt in our remarks on Calcar's "Portrait of a Young Man" in the Louvre, formerly accepted as a likeness of the anatomist. We know that the arms of Vesalius consisted of three weasels because he himself alludes to them—" *meæ mustelæ* "—in his *Epistola* . . . *Chyruæ* (Chap. 107). Boerhaave and Albinus, in their edition of the *Fabrica* of 1725, account for these arms by the original name of the Vesalius (Vésale) family—Wesel.† A hundred years after Vesalius's death these weasels were mistaken for greyhounds, on account of the ill-drawn lengthened legs and tails of the animals—and it

* Roth erroneously calls the staff a *trident*. This curious mistake results from his mistaking for prongs what are really the three ribbons floating from the mask of a satyr which supports the cartouche above. Corresponding ribbons are seen on the other side, a fact which renders the blunder inexcusable.

† The first three publications of Vesalius give his name as *Vesalius*: the two editions (1537 and 1544) of the *Paraphrasis* . . . *Rhazæ*, and the *Epistola* of 1539.

is thus that they were described as being on the sculptured ornament of the commemoration stone erected to Vesalius.*

The incorrect proportions in the first edition of the *Fabrica* which misled the sepulchral carver were corrected in the second edition (1555): tails and legs were shortened, and the greyhound tradition was disposed of.

The Little Portrait of Vesalius.



The central point of the composition is the portrait of Vesalius. He is recognizable mainly by his occupation, his attitude, and his costume, which recall the personage of the big Woodcut. His right hand, directed to the open groin, holds under the index-finger not a demonstrator's wand, as has always been said,† but a retractor, which he inserts into the cavity. He raises his left hand, emphasizing his words with his outstretched forefinger. The lack of resemblance between this head and face and those of the Woodcut standard portrait is startling. Not only, in the former, is the cranium much too small, but the forehead is much lower. The beard seems thinner and, besides, is trimmed to a point, and the ear is set on more diagonally. If it is really intended as a portrait little success has been achieved; but no doubt this minute effigy scarcely pretends to reproduce with fidelity either forms or features: the artist has aimed rather at producing a symbolical composition, and so has troubled little about complete resemblance—still less at emulating the authentic portrait, done *ad vivum*, which is to be found a few pages further on.

Yet Roth could find no dissimilarity between these two heads! "The figure of Vesalius," says he, "is a repetition of the portrait of 1542." This indulgent view is rather disconcerting, yet it prepares us to apprehend his standpoint expressed in the affirmation to which we have drawn attention in our remarks on the big Woodcut: the "Muttermal," according to him, being repeated in the little portrait of the Title-page. But, as has here been pointed out, if it exists at all, it is to be found in a

* See Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 59, on the evidence of Fürer von Haimendorff.

† Compare, for example, the anatomy scene in the *Fasciculus Medicinæ* of Joannes de Ketham (1493 edition—I have not seen that of 1491) and in the Venetian edition of the *Isagogæ Breves in Anatomiam Humani Corporis* of Giacomo Berengarius Carpensis (Berenger de Carpi).

different place, and even then not as a rounded "mark" but as a short line which takes its place with other elongated touches which make up the modelling that realizes the bony forms of the forehead.

The only importance to be attached to this miniature portrait is that it affords the reason, or rather the excuse, for Tintoretto's picture in the Munich Gallery having ever been considered as a likeness of Vesalius; for there is undoubted similarity—chance resemblance though it be—between the two. Yet inasmuch as the small version is contradicted by the authentic one, it is put out of court so far as iconography is concerned.

The composition as a whole has now to be considered: it claims detailed examination. Attention must first be drawn to

The Anatomical Theatre.

It is to be expected that in a design of this character belonging to the period at which it was produced, the representation would be partly true and partly imaginary or symbolical.

The scene is a magnificent construction of stone or marble, Palladian Renaissance in character.* It is a set-piece, imposing in its dignity and solemnity, yet after all only a set-piece, representing a palatial edifice, a splendid temple of science, idealized, visionary, and romantic—which there is good reason to believe has never existed. According to the statement sent to the present writer by Signor Moschetti, the learned Curator of the Museum of Padua: "In the anatomical theatre represented in the Title-page of the *Fabrica*, we must recognize in all probability an imaginary building. It is of course to be believed that at the time of this celebrated man of medicine there was an anatomical theatre in our University, but it was most likely a provisional and a movable building. It was only in the year 1583 that we find money-grants for a regular and durable construction to have been made. That building—entirely of wood, with the several modifications rendered necessary in the course of the centuries—is still preserved as a treasured fabric in our University."†

* At the left-hand arch, by the capital of the Corinthian column at the extreme edge, and on the right-hand capital of the column that sustains the arch, the draughtsman, familiar with architectural ruins neglected in his day, has introduced an indication of plant growth. The copyist of the Title-page of the 1555 edition wisely omitted the foolish obtrusion; but Wandelaar, in Boerhaave and Albinus's edition of 1725, imitating from the wood block of 1543, has re-introduced the plants, imparting to them an added luxuriance.

† See also: Cervetto: *Di alcuni illustri anatomici italiani del XV^o secolo.* Verona, 1842, p. 143 *et seq.*

The Skeleton.

A detail more important by far than the temple which enshrines the anatomy-scene is the insistence of the author and his artist upon the skeleton which is set up in the middle distance.

The mounting of a skeleton figures among the most remarkable of the exploits of Vesalius's youth on account not only of the anatomical reconstruction, complete and methodical, but from the point of view also of his special manner of preparing the bones and of his method of preserving them. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this innovation. The first time Vesalius set up a skeleton was at Louvain in 1536. Later on, at the beginning of 1538, he had done the same with the skeleton of a young girl at Padua, and he used it for the plates in his "*Feuilles Volantes.*" On a subsequent occasion he presented to Professor Bianci, of Bologna—in recognition of the splendid reception which had been extended to him there—a skeleton of a man and another of a monkey; and in 1543 he gave to the University of Bâle the skeleton of a criminal, on whose corpse he had held a public lecture. The remains of this skeleton are to this day religiously preserved in the Vesalianum of Bâle.

The importance which Vesalius attached to the skeleton is implied in the central and dominating position accorded to it in the Title-page—it yields nothing of place even to the corpse itself. Its effect—as a symbolic illustration—is to be recognized in the fact that since the time of Vesalius, and only since his day, the decorative title-pages of numerous treatises in anatomy contain at least one skeleton. The imitation flatters his example.*

* For example: Apart from the edition of Vesalius's *Epitome*, published at Amsterdam in 1642, with the two fine skeletons introduced as supporters of the *cartouche* as decorative motifs—there may be seen in the *Anatomia per Uso et Intelligenza del Disegno*, etc., by C. Errard and B. Genga (Rome, 1691), three representations of a skeleton in a startlingly dramatic composition. In the *Tabule Anatomica* of Pietro Berattini, of Cortona, in the editions of 1741 and 1788—different title-pages—in the first the skeleton is crammed into the fire-place, and in the other it is the object of respectful study by the pupils, under the eye of the professor. In the *Anatomia* (Italian edition, 1500) of Valverde, two skeletons support the *cartouche* in the title-page design. In the second edition (1760) of the *Abrégé d'Anatomic*, an art treatise by François Tortebat, founded upon Vesalius, first published in 1668, two nude infants are studying the skeleton.

Many more examples might be cited to prove that from Vesalius's day the skeleton became the emblem of anatomic study; and all authors render homage to him who first insisted on the setting up and the study of the skeleton as the fundamental starting-point of anatomy.

The Symbolical Animals of the Foreground.

The monkey and the dog in the opposite corners of the plate are intended solely as symbols, for there is no question of comparative anatomy in a public demonstration such as this.

In the second edition of the *Fabrica* (1555) the artist has introduced a goat beside the dog. The pig had commonly been used by Galen, onwards, also in physiological study, as the monkey was used for purposes of anatomy. Sometimes, but less often, recourse was had to the sheep, and even to the cat, such was the difficulty and even the danger entailed by the dissection of the human corpse,* which involved all sorts of accusations of impiety and crime. Those who were bold enough to practise it never lacked enemies who in the name of religion and of antiquated science (or actuated by personal motives) stuck at nothing to baulk their investigations. Vesalius had challenged furious opposition by his audacity in procuring human bodies. He had publicly proclaimed his contempt of the method of studying human anatomy through the lower animals; and he underlined that scorn in the introduction of dog and monkey in the title-page of his book, relegated to disregarded corners. The writers who followed him, faithful imitators, did not fail to mark the point. We see, for example, in the fine title-page to the Italian edition (1560) of the *Anatomia del Corpo humano* by the plagiarist of Vesalius, Valverde,† a monkey and a pig arranged heraldically, holding up two femurs above the culminating skull, and they are repeated in the complete edition of his work rendered into Latin by Michael Columbus (1588-9) as well as in *Andree Vesalii Anatomia* of 1604,‡ and in Berattini's *Tabulæ Anatomicæ* already mentioned (1741) where at the side of the little skeleton in the fire-grate we see the dog and the chained monkey.§

* Sambucus alludes to it in his verses addressed to Vesalius published in the collection : *Veterum aliquot . . . medicorum*, etc. of 1574 :

“ . . . porcum et catellos
Non homines præci discere Sophi.”

† John Evelyn, in his *Sculptura : or the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper* . . . London . . . 1662, writes : “ Nor lesse Worthy of Commendation are the Gravings of *Gabrielle Giolito*, in the *Orlando* of *Ariosto*; as also those eleven pieces of *Anatomic* made for *Andrea Vessalius* design'd by *Calcare* the *Flemming*, an Excellent Painter, and which were afterwards engraven in Copper by *Valverde* in little ” (p. 52).

These engravings after the Vesalius-Calcar plates first appeared in the Spanish anatomist's book published in the Spanish language, in Rome, 1556.

‡ Venetiis, apud Ioan : Anton : et Iacobum de Franciscis.

§ The chained monkey is often to be found as a medical symbol. I have seen it in a magnificent fifteenth or sixteenth century MS., a *Horæ Beate Mariæ Virginis*—two pages of

This reminder of the dog-and-monkey phase of the Dark Ages, and of the new light which the sixteenth century brought with it, persisted late into the eighteenth century, in the tacit evidence offered by the frontispieces and title-pages of treatises on anatomy in which the historical aspect of the sciences was not otherwise included. In the beautiful little plate which embellishes the title-page of the Knaptons' imposing English edition of Albinus,* a bearded man in classic robes, standing in the foreground of a well-imagined landscape, is engaged in studying a dead monkey, while lying beside him is the body of a dog which has already been offered up on the altar of science. These frequent reiterations were intended to serve as warnings to the student against pre-Vesalian teaching of anatomy—reminders of past ignorance and encouragements to more scientific methods.

The Symbolical Significance of the Title-page.†

The more we consider this composition, the more we are impressed by the symbolism which informs it. It may be said that it is emblematic from first to last, that it pictures for us the struggle of the "new anatomy" with the former empiricism, and that it celebrates and proclaims the dawn of modern science.

It is thus that we should read this page, the interpretation of which is as clear as that of Pharaoh's dream: The magnificent edifice signifies the nobility, the sublimity, of the art of medicine whose aim is the alleviation of the suffering and the miseries of humanity. In front of the professor young men are grouped; beyond them the aged; but all alike attracted by an intense and passionate interest in the manifestation

which are devoted to doctors of medicine and surgery. The middle miniature at the bottom of the page represents a monkey, with collar and chain, holding a flask, the contents of which it examines.

* "*Tables of the Skeleton and Muscles of the Human Body*," by Bernhard Siegfried Albinus, translated from the Latin. London: Printed by H. Woodfall, for John and Paul Knapton, MDCCXLIX." (Two vols. Eleph. folio.) The plate is inscribed: "N. Blakey inv et del G. Scotin Sculp."

† "We must not forget" as an historical critic has put it, "the preponderating influence of symbolism on the thought and feeling of the time. The spirit of the Middle Ages imagined the entire world as a symbol; its whole history is replete with symbolical meanings. For monks and for scholars Holy Writ was but a medley of facts and symbols; the legends of the Saints figured in stone and represented in picture were in a great measure symbolical. Not less so were the decorative *motifs* employed at this time. Literature alone escaped the influence because the imagination of the people, confounding actual fact with symbol, accepted as truth that which in reality was nothing but decorative poetry."

of Truth: their feeling is abundantly pictured in their gestures and attitudes. In this crowd, the youths—by far the more numerous—represent the Future. Three men of venerable aspect are clothed, not in the fashion of the day like the rest, but in classic robes and sandals: they represent antiquity witnessing the passing of their Age—tradition, against which revolt is developing into triumph. He on the left, compelled by proof, is perhaps Galen turning his back upon his attendant monkey; he on the right, Mundinus may be, or even Hippocrates, prudently restraining with a sign his servant who leads the dog. These old men may represent the older school which instinct tells them is crumbling to its end, and ready in the cold light of proof to accept new ideas and to recognize the errors of the past. Or the man on the right may be thought to refuse a hearing to the custodian of the dog who stretches out his hand in protest—typifying non-human anatomy—and, repudiating his faith in empiricism, turns towards the great innovator to whom he points; while he on the left ignores the monkey which, enraged at the abjuration, vents its spleen in attacking the young student, devotee of true science, nearest to him. The monkey is the animal which was thenceforward to be regarded as representing the discredited anatomic teaching of Galen, for Vesalius had proved beyond dispute that the anatomist of Pergamo had based his human anatomy upon dissections made upon the monkey.*

Behind the rail, or barrier, which separates the two groups of spectators, stands the public audience whose bearing illustrates clearly enough its attitude towards modern science. We are shown the priest (the Church) motionless and unimpassioned, silently expressing neutrality in this bitter internecine strife that was agitating the scientific world: it concerns him not. But he watches. Beside him is a young student who is represented as brought up in the old style, standing with his eyes fixed on his book: he remains the humble slave of the printed word. We may ask ourselves if among all these types, so full of character and so incisively rendered, portraits of Vesalius's contemporaries may not have been recognizable in his day. Was Calcar proof against the temptation of gibbeting the adversary which Michael Angelo himself could not resist? High above all these onlookers, a youth (the Future) and an old man (the Past) press forward from the windows and with their

* The first printed edition of Galen's works had been issued in five volumes by Aldinus in 1525, when Vesalius was 11 years old.

eyes devour the impressive, unprecedented spectacle of this epoch-making demonstration. There may be another interpretation. These two seem as if they may be intentional portraits of two important agents in the production of this great work. Calcar, still on the side of youth, the artist, on the left; and on the right a likeness of his great master—Titian himself, now sixty-seven years old—a noble worker in anatomical illustration, and according to some, as has already been said, an actual worker on some of Vesalius's plates. These two are perhaps watching the triumphant fruition of their own work. If the skeleton, by the place accorded to it and by its commanding attitude, appears to preside over the assembly and over the lecture itself, is it not because osteology must preside at the teaching of anatomy? If the bare-footed "barbers," obviously discontented at their lot, are relegated entirely to the very lowest place in the scene and to the most menial occupation, is it not because they were even then dethroned from their seat and so were deprived of the importance which had hitherto been ungrudgingly allowed them at anatomical demonstrations? They have here been reduced to the humble duty of sharpening the instruments for which the professor will call and which he will himself use: from that day forward anatomical science, liberated and triumphant, will pass, irresistibly and for ever, into the hands of the intellectuals, of the Doctors and men of science.

* In England in the sixteenth century the Gild of the Barber-Surgeons gave an annual lecture on the viscera of a subject—nothing else. It was known as the Visceral Lecture. There were skeletons set up there, to which John Webster alludes in his tragedy, *The Duchess of Malfy* (c. 1623—V. ii) when Ferdinand, the mad Duke of Calabria, bursts out—"I will stamp him into a cullis ["into a jelly" as we say], flay off his skin, to cover one of the anatomies this rogue [*i.e.*, the attendant doctor] hath set i' the cold yonder in Barber-Surgions-hall."

And when the barber-surgeons were conducting dissections in London in 1616, the unidentified "S.S." brought his famous comedy, *The Honest Lawyer*, upon the boards. Valentine, the super-arch villain, comes back to England and finds his rascally associates all dispersed: "When I returned from my short trauell," says he, "I inquir'd for the knot of my old companions. But . . . how suddenly are they broken! I heard of three or foure in Bedlam. Fiue or sixe in Bridewell. Half a score ith Counter. A whole dozen at Tyburne. But Oh, numbers, numbers, vnder the hands of Barber-Surgions . . ." (B 2^{vo}).

And see, *supra*, the Literary Note in relation to the portrait of Vesalius at the Royal College of Physicians. In England, as in Italy, barber-surgeons were held in very low esteem from the point of view of professional status. No less a man than Bacon, in his *Star Chamber Note on Duelling* (1613), speaks of "Barber surgeons, butchers, and such base mechanical persons."

"He put himself into a barber-cirurgions hands," writes Richard Wiseman in his *Seven Chirurgical Cases* (1676), "who, by unfit applications, rarefied the tumour." And yet Ambroise Paré himself arose out of his apprenticeship to a Barber-surgeon!

The naked man who sustains himself by grasping a column on the left, and the clothed figure who stands forth from the pillar on the right—both of them raised into striking prominence—symbolize perhaps study from nature and study from conventional teaching—by books alone. This interpretation, it must be admitted, leaves out of account the look of horror or of fear on the nude man's face; he may be meant to typify the conscience-stricken criminal gazing on what he recognizes as the lot in store for himself, while the contrasted figure opposite, may be, if we may judge by his costume, a soldier whose body may equally one day find its way to the dissecting-table. Justification of the symbolical intention in the juxtaposition of the nude and clothed figures may be found in the fact that they are to be met with in other title-pages in anatomical works. Similarly, in the title-page of the Venetian edition (Franciscis, 1604) of Vesalius, and in that of his *Epitome* by Fontanus (Amsterdam, 1642)—both of them reproduced in this volume—the naked figure of a man and a skeleton are symmetrically set up, in significant contradistinction, on opposite sides of the design.

Lastly, the presence of the body before which Vesalius holds discourse, is emblematic like the rest. He speaks without book, consulting no text, inspired solely by knowledge and fortified by research, setting forth his exposition simply and clearly, showing things as they are—while the opened body of the woman, the subject of his talk, is significative of the source of life. If, as Roth says, we find in this plate a pronouncement of “the contrast of Galenic and Vesalian analyses”—as no doubt we do—the remark would rather be applied to the human body as it lies before us than to the decorative details of the *cartouche* which, absurdly enough, as it appears to me, provide him with the thought.

The Staging of Anatomy-Lessons.

The earliest representation of an anatomy-lesson, or dissecting-scene, in a printed book is in the French translation of *Bartholomaeus Anglicus* printed at Lyons in 1482.* Another appears in the beautifully printed *Fasciculus Medicinæ* of Joannes de Ketham, published in Venice in 1493. These engravings represent instruction *ex cathedrâ*; they depict the professor reading while the barber operates on the body. That is to say,

* The earliest English printed representation of a dissection is in the English translation of this work, issued by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495. This has been reproduced by Dr. Charles Singer.

they bear witness to the authority of the written book, the overwhelming domination of tradition impervious to fresh light and imperiously hostile to innovation.

With Vesalius a new era is opened, and the *mise-en-scène* of the anatomy-lesson given in the amphitheatre at Padua is from this point of view intentional and characteristic. Wherefore it may be said, with Professor Roth, that this plate, fanciful though it is in details, may be regarded as the first which truly represents an anatomy lecture. So successful was it, and so great was the impression created, that many of the books on anatomy subsequently published were imitatively provided with allegorical title-page designs of a similar kind.

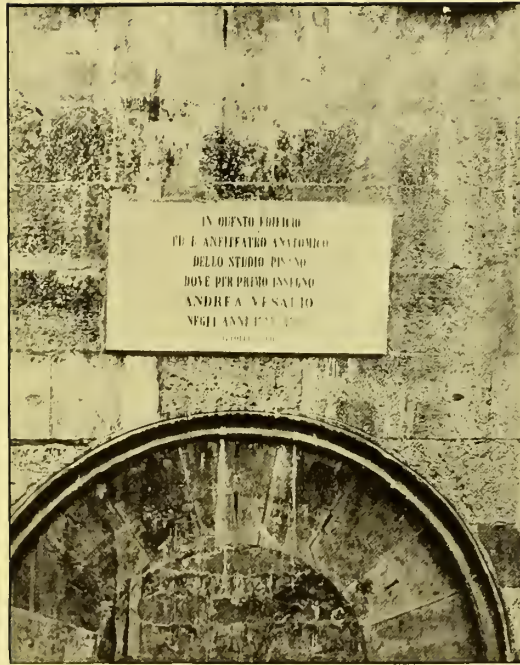
In 1560 Joan de Valverde issued in Rome an Italian edition of his *Histori de la composicion del cuerpo humano* (of 1556) under the title of : *Anatomia del corpo humano*,* to which we have already referred. The title-page of this edition presents three interesting little anatomy-scenes : one of them a lesson on the art of setting-up a skeleton, and the others instruction in dissection. The middle composition is the most important : it shows the Professor, seated among his pupils, demonstrating upon a male body lying on a bench before him ; that on the right portrays the body of a woman, and four assistants.

In the first years of the 17th century, Valegio reproduced a similar scene in the title-page of the Venetian edition of the *Fabrica* (1604), introducing into it pseudo-portraits—grotesquely unlike—of Vesalius, Crucius, and Valverde.† Valegio doubtless borrowed for his purpose the composition, arrangement, and grouping of the title-page (itself inspired by that of the *Fabrica* of 1543) of a book by Realdus Columbus Cremonensis : *De re anatomica Libri XV, Venetiis*, of 1559.

In this plate we meet again the architectural theatre in which the professor, who faces the spectator, is surrounded by students young and old, and grasps a scalpel with which he has just opened the abdomen of the subject. Grotesque though it is, the portrait given as that of Vesalius is not greatly unlike the so-called portrait of the anatomist by Titian in the Pitti palace : it is amusing to see that it might more easily be mistaken for a likeness of the friendly critic of Vesalius, Io. Phil. Ingrassias.

* The first complete Latin edition of Valverde's works, by Mich. Columbus—*Anatome Corporis Humani, studio et industria IVNTARVM*, was published in 1589, but with the words on the title-page : *Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1588*.

† See *infra*, in the section of "ENGRAVINGS."



Memorial stone set October 1901, in the wall of the building facing the south side of the University of Pisa, from a window of which this view was photographed. Here Vesalius lectured, 1543-1545.



PISA

EXTERIOR OF THE FORMER ANATOMICAL THEATRE

Building at the corner of the Via della Speranza, now a billiard room frequented by students of the University, said to have been the amphitheatre in which Vesalius gave his demonstrations. The fact is recorded on the stone set above the recessed arch, here shown

More closely inspired by the title-page of the *Fabrica* is that of Pieter Paaw's *De Humani Corporis Ossibus* of 1633.* Here again we have an imposing anatomy-lesson in the large theatre, or more accurately speaking, the hall — which doubtless provided the background for Hamman's larger picture of Vesalius, now at Marseilles, which we have already described. Students are grouped around. The skeleton holds in his hand a broom to which is affixed a paper bearing the inscription : *Morsint Malinea Rerum*. At the table on which the body lies, the professor (presumably Vesalius) presides, and close to him there is a dog, studiously ignored. This print which measures $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. (28.5 cm. \times 22 cm.) is inscribed : "B. G. heyn [the B.G. in monogram] inv. Andr. StoG Scul." Among the accompanying panegyrical verses is a poem signed by *Menelaus Vinshemius, Med. Doctor* which is worthy of quotation, exactly as printed :—

*Proferre Com Græci exultet Senem,
Bruxella magno gaudeat Vesalio,
Sors cinque terræ latiori sit sua :
Tulit Batava PAAVVIVM, hoc uno potest
Prisci magistri provocare temporis,
Et tot Latinos vincere ac Graios simul.*

In the early part of the 17th century the English doctor Helkiah Crocus [Crooke] first published his "ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ" which was embellished with an exceptionally important engraved title-page showing (besides a male and female figure illustrating blood-vessels and internal organs) a demonstration on a head and brain held in the presence of the Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons of London."† In 1634 appeared Jacob vander Gracht's *Anatomie der Wtterlijke* [sic = *niterlijke*] *deelen van het Menschelick Ligchaam*, etc., which contains a frontispiece half realistic, half symbolical, wherein is seen a professor dissecting, before an audience of eleven persons, the muscles

* PETRI PAAW, *Amstelædamensis. In Academia Lugduno-Batava Anatomici Botanici Professoris . . . De Humani Corporis OSSIBVS. Amstelæcodami, apud Henricum Laurentii, M.DC.XXXIII.* See *supra*, Chapter III. "PICTURES, III. HAMMAN."

† This fine plate is signed, in a doubtful monogram, "M.A.R.D. sculptor," and is imprinted : "Printed by T. Cotes and R. Cotes for Michael Sparke and are to be sold at the blew byble in Greene Arbor." The second edition of the *Mikrokosmographia* (1651) has for its sub-title : "A description of the Body of Man Together with the Controversies and Figures thereto belonging Collected and Translated out of all the Best Authors of Anatomy Especially out of Gasper Bauhinus and Andreas Laurentius By Helkiah Crooke Doctor in Physicke Phisitian To His Maiesty and His Highnesse Professor in Anatomy and Chirurgery . . ."

of the forearm of a seated body held up by cords. This *Anatomie* was composed for art, and not for medical, students.

When F. M. Disdier published his *Exposition exacte . . . des différentes parties du Corps humain*, etc., in 1758* he introduced the series of plates by Etienne Charpentier, the eminent anatomist-engraver, by an admirable fancy composition drawn by François Boucher—of all people!—the dainty painter of love-scenes and illustrator of female beauty unveiled, the exquisite designer usually classed with the Watteau School. The composition is much what might have been expected. It professes to represent an anatomy-lesson. Grouped around a corpse elegantly reposing on a couch in a vaulted chamber of much magnificence, are ranged the masters and students, some of whom are draped in classic robes, the others attired in the latest and most expensive fashions of the day—their attention concentrated far more on the grace and ease of their pose and attitudes and on the enormous volumes—clearly devoid of any weight—which some of them hold with an unquestionable sense of beauty, than on the professor's demonstration which is going forward. Even the skeleton on the left is powerless to introduce a touch of scientific earnestness in this gorgeous anatomical entertainment *pour rire*.

Thus the influence of the *Fabrica* Title-page made itself felt and constantly reappeared throughout the centuries that followed, too often corrupt and distorted in its form and manifestations. Other plates borrowed from Vesalius have shared the fate of the title-page. Thus in Disdier's book the author has caused Natoire—another of the Watteau-Boucher confraternity—to draw and Vasseur to engrave an Adam and Eve obviously copied from Calcar's Hercules and Venus in the *Fabrica* and the *Építome*: only, by Disdier's order, Adam and Eve are each represented *without a navel*, the author protesting that neither in logic nor in fact—he calls the Bible itself to witness—could our First Parents have had any possible excuse for the possession of an *umbilicus*.† No wonder that John Evelyn's words, in view of this example of originality in an anatomist, recur to us: "Such an idea could come only from a man-midwife!"

As late as 1838 we find an echo of the *Fabrica* Title-page in F. Bertinatti's *Tavole anatomiche annesse agli elementi di anatomia*

* The work was reprinted in 1784.

† See—Mathias Duval et Edouard Cuyer: *Histoire de l'Anatomie plastique*. Paris, 1898.



2A.—The Title-page of the *EPITOME*, 1543



2B.—The Title-page of the Second Edition of the *FABRICA*, 1555

A wood engraving

(Turin). In this striking plate the body is shown in an almost vertical position, kept in place by cords attached to the ceiling.*

2^A. ANONYMOUS.

Woodcut.

Title-page of the *Epitome*: same engraving as in the *Fabrica* (*q. v.*).

Dimensions: of the page, up to $21\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $14\frac{5}{8}$ (54 cm. × 37.3 cm.).

Ordinary copies usually measure $18\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $14\frac{1}{8}$ (48 cm. × 36 cm.).

Dedication: dated August, 1542; the *Epitome* was published, June, 1543.

Signature: the same monogram of Oporinus—the IO interlaced.

In the upper *cartouche* is the title of the volume in printed type:—
ANDREAE VESALII | BRVXELLENSIS, SCHOLAE | medicorum Patauinae
profeforis, suorum de | Humani corporis fabrica librorum | EPITOME.

In the lower *cartouche*, at the foot of the cut, is the same inscription as in the Title-page of the *Fabrica*. And below, in the margin, before the name of the town of publication, BASILIAE, is to be read—LECTORI, followed by twelve lines of text.

On the verso of the plate is the dedication: SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI
PHI- | LIPPO DIVI CAROLI QVINTI | IMPERATORIS MAXIMI INVICTIS-
SIMIQVE FILIO HAERIDI, | Andreas Vesalius S.

This dedication occupies the upper part of a 45-line page. The page, it should be observed, is decorated with an initial containing a vignette wherein are represented six naked children playfully pulling across one of the arms of a capital T a cord tied to the hind feet of a muzzled dog—another reference to the older anatomy “now to be

* There is little need to remind the reader of the dissection-scenes and anatomy-lessons executed, mainly for the Surgeons' Guild of Amsterdam, by a distinguished group of leading Dutch painters of the 17th and 18th centuries, and now lodged in the Ryks Museum of that city and at Delft—usually large pictures showing the figures of the size of life. Let us take them in chronological order: (1) By *Aert Pietersen* (“The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Egbertsz de Vrij,” 1603); (2) *Michiel* and *Pieter Miervelt* (“The Anatomy Lesson of Professor W. van der Meer,” 1617); (3) *Thomas de Keyser* (“The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Egbertsz de Vrij,” 1619); (4) *Nicolas Elias* (“The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Johan Holland, called Fonteyn,” 1626); (5 and 6) *Rembrandt* (“The Anatomy Lecture of Dr. Nicolas Pietersz Tulp,” 1632); and (“The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Johan Deyman,” 1656) [a fragment]; (7) *Adriaen Backer* (“The Anatomy Lesson of Professor Frederik Ruysch,” 1676); (8) *Cornelis de Man* (“An Anatomy Lesson,” 1681); (9) *Johan van Neck* (“The Anatomy Lesson of Professor Frederik Ruysch,” 1683); (10) *Thomas van der Wilt* (“An Anatomy Lesson,” 1727); and (11) *Cornelis Troost* (“The Anatomy Lesson of Professor W. Roell,” 1728). There may be more. Numerous illustrations of the kind may be seen in the Wellcome Museum of Medical History in London.


The celebrated plate in Hogarth's “Four Stages of Cruelty,” with all its horror and satirical bitterness, springs also to the mind.

relegated," as has been said, "to the limbo of discredit and disrepute." The text ends with the date :—Patauij, Idibus Augusti Anno à Vir- | ginis partu MDXLII.

2^B. ANONYMOUS.

Wood-engraving.

Title-page of the second edition of the *Fabrica* (1555).

No signature, the monogram  having been removed, although Joannes Oporinus remained the publisher of the work.

This is a re-engraved copy, wholly re-drawn with modifications throughout, of the original woodcut Title-page; but although more ambitious in handling it is less excellent as a work of art. The engraver, no longer content to cut the actual lines and touches of the draughtsman, has sought to imitate the manner of the copper-plate line-engraver. He renders the light and shade as though with a burin he were translating the effects of brush-drawing instead of giving us the work as the draughtsman's pencil-point left it. The manner is more advanced in technique, more "artistic" as some would say, colder, less personal and of totally different craftsmanship. So many minor modifications have been introduced into a whole series of details that it is impossible to enumerate them, for, apart from the design, the drawing is new and different. The most important alteration is that the head of



Head of Vesalius (enlarged) in the Title-page, engraved on wood, of the second (1555) edition of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. (Showing the mole over the eyebrow.)

Vesalius, instead of being seen almost in profile to the right, is now inclined towards full-face. The engraver has reproduced the *Muttermal* (Birthmark or wart) above the sitter's right eyebrow: he is the only copyist to do so. He has allowed himself other liberties: the skeleton no longer holds a staff, but a scythe, and is thus transformed into Chronos, and the point and value of the skeleton as an anatomical symbol are wholly misunderstood and destroyed. It is no longer a nude terror-stricken man who holds on to the column on the left, but one clothed like the corresponding figure opposite. On the right a goat has been introduced beside the dog. The squatting barber has been provided with trunk-hose and shoes. The instruments on the table are otherwise set out, and among them is a torn fragment

of manuscript: Vesalius, as we see, no longer speaks without notes. The sandalled patriarchs wear sandals and buskins no longer, and their significance—like that of the skeleton—has been ignorantly trifled away. The character and form of the weasels on the shield above are at last correctly rendered: there is no longer any suggestion of greyhounds. These are but a few of the variations. In truth all is altered in some degree, down to the shape of the *cartello* at the foot and the inscription beneath it. The general illumination is more “spotty” and far less artistically managed: in the result, the wonderful sense of atmosphere which we admire in the Woodcut has in the wood-engraving disappeared. What the engraving has gained in refinement and craftsmanship, it has lost in the higher qualities of art—dignity, atmosphere, and life.

The upper *cartouche* has been enlarged and modifications have been introduced into the ornamentation. The inscription now accords to Vesalius his title of doctor to the Emperor:—ANDREAE VESALII BRUXELLENSIS, INVI- | ctissimi CAROLI V. Imperatoris | medici, de Humani corporis | fabrica Libri septem.

On the lower *cartouche*, attached to the platform by cords and chain, we read: *CVM CAESARIAE | Maiest. Galliarum Regis, ac Senatus Veneti Gratia | privilegio, ut in diplomatis eroruudem continetur.* And, in the margin, at the foot of the page: *BASILIAE, PER IOANNEM OPORINUM.*

When Sir William Stirling-Maxwell reproduced the Title-page of the *Epitome* of 1543 (when re-issuing the “*Feuilles Volantes*” or *Tabulae Anatomicæ*, as representing the first anatomical drawings put forth by Vesalius) he inserted in the upper *cartouche*, as the title of his reprint, the following text:—


ANDREAE VESALII | TABVLAE ANATOMICAE SEX. | — | SIX ANATOMICAL TABLES OF | ANDREW VESALIVS.; and he retained in the lower *cartouche*: VENETIJS | *Impriuebat B. Vitalis, Venetus, sumptibus | Ioannis Stephani Calcarenensis* | M·D·XXXVIII. In the bottom margin he added: LONDON: PRIVATELY PRINTED for SIR WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL. | M·D·CCC·LXXIV.

2^c. 1725. JAN WANDELAAR.

Line-engraving after the wood-cut Title-page of the *Fabrica*, 1543.

Dimensions: Same as those of the original—14 in. by 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

(35·5 cm. × 25 cm.)

The monogram of Oporinus  is omitted.

Title-page to the edition of the works of Vesalius, by Hermann Boerhaave and Bernhard Siegfried Albinus, Leyden, 1725. [See *supra* : 1^c. 1725.]

This beautiful copper-plate is a refined, almost over-refined, and fairly faithful, though beautified, copy of the woodcut original. There are, however, two important departures from that design, the one architectural, the other decorative. There are but five columns in this noble interior instead of seven. The modification simplifies the scene and gives greater depth, against which the figures gain considerably. This proof of artistic taste and knowledge may be applauded because no violence has been done to actual fact—no such building having ever existed. Other changes of detail, notably in the arrangement of draperies, improve the effect, and, after all, are nothing but what might be expected when a line-engraver of the eighteenth century, a past-master of his art, sets himself to reproduce a wood-engraving of two hundred years before. The barbers are once more bare-legged; the man at the column is naked as before; the goat—the innovation of 1555—is suppressed; and generally speaking, the facial expression throughout, softened and sweetened as it is, has markedly lost the extraordinary power and force that distinguish the original. An amusing touch is to be observed—Wandelaar's inability, after his visit to Italy and his examination of the ruins and splendid buildings, to resist the re-introduction of plants—a common habit—growing in the interstices of the stones on the left; and this in an interior, with roof in perfect condition. The engraver of the 1555 Title-page had more acumen.

There has been an effort, though not a very successful one, to adhere to the head of Vesalius of the 1543 Title-page. That of 1555 is properly rejected. The beard is fair, almost to whiteness, short, and trimmed to a point. There is no hint here of the *Muttermal* or birth-mark, nor any suggestion, either, of intellectual vigour. This pleasant, well-groomed demonstrator seems possessed of less character than almost anyone else in the place.

How much the weakening of expression and the variations and alterations to be seen all over the plate are due to the method of engraving—which doubtless is, in part at least, responsible—need not here be discussed. But we feel that such a scene called for a stronger hand and for a less amiable personality than Wandelaar's; it was inevitable that the passion inherent in the scene should evaporate under the kindly grace of the Dutchman's graver.

The large *cartouche* has been suppressed ; and the simple escutcheon, with its three animals still resembling greyhounds rather than weasels, is placed above the cornice, without any sort of ornamental accessory. The lower *cartouche* on the floor level is inscribed :

A. VESALII
OPERA OMNIA
ANATOMICA CHIRVRGICA
MDCCXXV

Lugduni Batavorum Apud I. du Vivié et J. & H. Verbeek.
[And in the margin] *J. Wandelaar fecit.*

III.—PORTRAITS.

3. 1566. ANONYMOUS.

Woodcut.

Dimensions : $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. by $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (5.5 cm. × 4 cm.).

This little portrait, roughly and primitively cut, is of special interest on account of its early date : it must have been published two years



1566. In the "*Prosopographiæ . . .*"
of Dr. H. Pantaleon.

at the most after Vesalius's death. It is to be found in the summary biography issued by Dr. Heinrich Pantaleon in 1566.*

It is printed in the upper left corner of p. 271. It will be noticed that the text contains certain inaccuracies, which are dealt with elsewhere ; and that tribute is paid to the plates of the *Fabrica*—"*cum elegantissimis omnium figuris.*" The biography is headed : "ANDREAS VESALIUS MEDICVS CAESAREVS Anno Salutis 1542."

Vesalius, in figured brocade, is represented turned to the left, the head turned backwards in a curiously comic fashion, the hands brought to the breast with the right forefinger raised, as if the professor were addressing the reader. The merry gaze of the *Fabrica* portrait is

* This volume claims to comprise the biographies of celebrated men, mainly Germans, down to the year 1567—the year after that of actual publication. The first and second volumes

here translated into an expression of banter. The head is lengthened, lacking the roundness of the original, and the eyes are small and singularly ill-drawn. Nevertheless, we recognize in the curls of the hair, in the tilted nose, and in the pattern on the doublet, an effort to abide by the authority of the Woodcut.

4. 1572. PHILIPP GALLE (1537-1612). Dutch School. Line-engraving.

Dimensions : Engraved surface— $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14 cm. \times 12 cm.) ; including title and verses engraved beneath the plate— $6\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.5 cm.) in height. No signature.

Inscription : above, on the field of the plate—

*Perijt Zacyutho in insula A. CIO. IOLXIV.
Ætat. LVIII.*

[This curious error of eight years in the age of Vesalius does not seem hitherto to have attracted notice. It was allowed to stand in the re-issue ; in the third the whole inscription was cleaned off the plate.]

Beneath the portrait is the Legend—

ANDREAS VESALIVS BRVXELLENSIS, | ANATOMICORVM PRINCEPS.

*Corporis humani qui membra minuta secaret,
Vesalio nullus doctior extiterat.
Hic Medicis auxit, Pictoribus auxit et artem,
Dum subit internas, quæ latuère, vias.*

28

B. Arias Montanus.

The verses are by the learned Benedictus Arias Montanus, and the plate is numbered as the twenty-eighth of the series in the album of portraits published by the engraver Philipp Galle and entitled : *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium Effigies XLVIII a Philippo Galleo, Antverpiæ, 1572*. Save for the epigrammatic verses of Arias there is no text. The three issues can be immediately recognized thus :

are dated 1565. The essential text of the very prolix title runs thus : *Prosopographiæ Heroum atque Illustrium Virorum Totius Germaniæ, Pars Tertia, Ea'que Primaria : . . . et nunc primum ad patriam illustrandam in lucem editum, ita quod instar historiæ Germanorum esse videatur.* | AUTHORE HEINRICO PANTALEONE PHYSICO | BASILIENI | *Basilie in Officina Hacredum Nicolai | Brylingerri, Anno 1566.*

Perijt Zacyntho in insula A. MD. XLIV. Aetate LVIII.



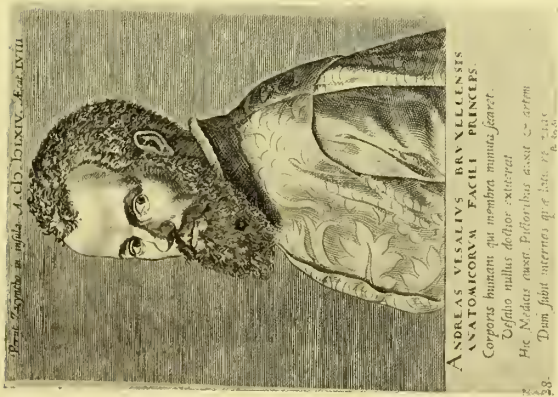
ANDREAS VESALIVS BRVXELLENSIS,
ANATOMICORVM PRINCEPS.

*Corporis humani qui membra minuta secaret,
Vesalio nullus doctior extiterat.
Hic Medicis auxit, Pictoribus auxit et artem,
Dum subit internas, quæ latuère, vias.*

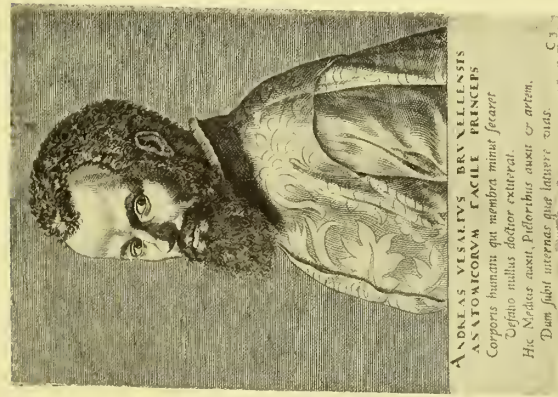
28.

P. Arias Montanus.

4.—1572. By PHILIPP GALLE
For his *Virorum Doctorum . . . Effigies*
(First State of three)



4A.—Second State.



4B.—Third State.

By PHILIPP GALLE.

For his *Virorum Doctrinum . . . Effigies.*



5.—En contre-partie (reversed).



- (a) Inscription at top.
 Inscription below, well engraved. Second line of title—“*anatomicorum princeps.*”
 Third line of verse : “*et artem*”
 Fourth line of verse : “*latuëre*”
 Bottom line : “*28. B. Arias Moutauius.*”
- (b) Inscription at top.
 Inscription below, very badly re-engraved. Second line of title—
 “*Anatomicorum facile princeps.*”
 Third line of verse : “*& artem*”
 Fourth line of verse : “*latuëre*”
 Bottom line : “*28. B. Ar. Moutauius.*”
- (c) *No* inscription at top.
 Inscription below : same as in (b).
 First line of verse : gives “*miuut*” instead of “*minuta*”
 Fourth line : No comma after “*latuëre*”
 Bottom line : No number or signature ; but in right corner : C₃.

The plate (c) belongs to the small folio edition published in Antwerp* in 1595. A very good imitation next to be noticed (No. 5) was produced, reversed (*eu contre-partie*).

Although plates (a) and (b) are numbered “28,” in some copies at least (including that at the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels) it is the seventeenth of the collection.

In this plate Vesalius is represented bust length, turned to the left, the right arm not showing and the other held straight down. It is of special interest as being the first copied from the *Fabrica* Woodcut in line upon copper. It is a good example of the work of the great Netherlandish engraver who, as Mariette truly said “*maniait le burin avec facilité.*” But its chief importance lies in the fact that it served as the original on which several of those who immediately followed Galle based their plates—notably Stimmer (Maurer) and de Bry.

This fact may be proved by the several faults, or misrenderings, which are to be found alike in this translation of the Woodcut by Galle and in the later plates alluded to. These variations injure the resemblance. The chief offence is in regard to the upper part of the head : the forehead is less protuberant than in the original. The gaze of the

* It was in Antwerp that Galle (1570) settled and worked.

cold, staring eyes is hard and fixed; the line from the nostril to the mouth and the unsympathetic form of the bitter lips transform an expression of humour and kindness into a sour and disagreeable aspect. To the touches of light below the enlarged mouth is partly due this loss of amiability. The ear, besides, is less well drawn. This might in point of fact be taken for the portrait of an elder brother of Vesalius, less joyous in temperament, less observant, and despite his challenging expression, less confident of his power and of his knowledge.

5. After 1572. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions: of the portrait— $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 4 in. (12 cm. \times 10.2 cm.);
with the inscription— $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.5 cm.) in height.

Description: ANDREAS VESALIVS BRVXELLENSIS | ANATOMICORUM
FACILE PRINCEPS

*Corporis humani qui membra minut [sic] secaret
Vesalio nullus doctior extiterat, ,
Hic Medicis auxit & artem,
Dum subit internas quæ latuere vias*

It will be seen that this inscription, modifying somewhat the lines of Benedictus Arias Montanus (whose name is now suppressed) reproduces that of the third edition of Philipp Galle's engraving (see *supra*, 4 (c)), which is here imitated, with the omission of the words "*auxit, Pictoribus.*"

The plate is a very close copy, reversed (*en contre-partie*); that is to say, Vesalius turns to the right. The face, however, is narrower, and the head relatively smaller, although it is actually a little higher. In spite of a number of small variations, the copy is on the whole remarkably successful, although the mouth is more pinched and pouting—in which respect it prepares the way for the important woodcut of Stimmer and Maurer which we shall presently examine.

Owing to the space above the head having been reduced—the inscription in the original plate being suppressed—and half an inch (1.3 cm.) having been sacrificed at the bottom, the portrait is smaller by three-quarters of an inch.

VESALIUS. 32.



Quis sine te felix Medicus, promptusque Cherurgus?
 Ni artis subjectum, membra, situmque sciat?
 Sæcula tot pars hæc latuit, porcum atque catellos,
 Non homines prisce dissecuere Sophi.

F 3

6. 1574. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : of the border— $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{4}$ (18.5 cm. \times 18.5 cm.) ; of the circle enclosing the head— $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diam. (11.1 cm.).

Inscription : above, in printed characters—VESALIVS. 32.

below, the following verse by Joannis Sambucus :*

Quis sine te felix Medicus, promptus'que Cherurgus ?
 Ni artis subjectum, inembra, sitúmque sciat ?
 Sæcula tot pars hæc latuit, porcum atque catellos,
 Non homines prisca dissecuère Soplî.

F 3

This portrait, set in a highly ornamental and fretted border-frame—of fantastic strap-work, with lizards, squirrels, foxes, and parrots—presents a bust of Vesalius to the left, the head turned three-quarters and looking at the spectator. The artist makes pretence of founding his portrait on the *Fabrica* Woodcut, but with unjustifiable modifications. Vesalius is here singularly youthful; his fair hair does not curl; the mouth is much pinched and without a trace of firmness; the Mephistophelian eyes are very badly drawn; the nose is humped in the middle; the cranium is much flattened and lacks the spherical form. It is a serious list of shortcomings and of deliberate faults. Moreover, there is an air of feeble sprightliness, not to say of frivolity, in the smile and glance, for which the original affords no excuse.

Yet this engraving has a wide reputation, not because of its merit, which is very mediocre, nor because it is one of the earliest portraits—having been produced ten years after Vesalius's death—but because it appeared in the celebrated work of Sambucus: *Veterum aliquot ac recentium Medicorum Philosophorumque Icones ex bibl. Jo. Sambuci* (Antwerp, 1574),† wherein the author celebrated his hero in the verses quoted above. It is the thirty-second of the sixty-seven portraits included in the collection. It is possible that the frame was engraved by a hand more practised and more artistic than that which executed the head.

* Roth, *op. cit.*, admits into his transcript certain errors of spelling and punctuation.

† Another edition—that of the Plantin Press of the same year—also contains this plate: *Icones Veterum aliquot, ac recentium Medicorum, Philosophorumque clogiottis suis editæ, Opera I. SAMBVCI. Antverpiæ, ex Officina Christophori Plantini. M.D.LXXIIII.*

This portrait was copied in 1676 in the little plate, still less praise worthy, bearing the inscription "VESALIUS. ♀ ." for the *Microscopium . . . de Physiognomia* of Helvetius (*q.v.*).

6^A. Variant of the last.

Dimensions : of the border— $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. (19 cm. × 19.7 cm.) ;
of the circle enclosing the head ($4\frac{7}{16}$ in.) diam.
(12.5 cm.).

Below, four lines of Latin verse :—

*Nerea tu vidnas, pescosi fluminis alveos
Detegis, et propriis nominibus celebros.
Pharmaca quid valeant per se quid mixtæe narras ;
Te maior vulgo nemo chernurgus erat.*

The border is similar in design, but is decorated with a squirrel, a frog, two owls, and two cockatoos.

7. 1587. TOBIAS STIMMER (1539-1580—Swiss School), attributed to ;
[alternatively to JOHANN CHRISTOPH STIMMER (b. 1552) ; but,
certainly by CHRISTOPH MAURER (1558-1614—Swiss School)].

Woodcut : unsigned.

Dimensions : within the border—4 in. by $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (10.2 cm. × 8 cm.) ;
including the border— $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (14.5 cm. × 8 cm.).

This plate is a free copy of Philipp Galle's line-engraving of 1572 after the *Fabrica* Woodcut.

Vesalius is represented turned to the left, the head three-quarters to the front, dressed in his flowered doublet, save that the sleeve, issuing through it, is without pattern. The left hand, laid upon his breast, holds between its fingers a *hamulus*, or retractor, so simplified as to give it the appearance of a two-pronged fork.

Above, in printed characters, the inscription :—

ANDREAS VESALIVS ARCHIA-
ter cæfareus :

and below, the lines written by Nicolas Reusner :—

*Magnus honos, magni mihi credita cura Monarchæ ;
Corporis humani fabrica, maior honos.
M. D. LXIV.*

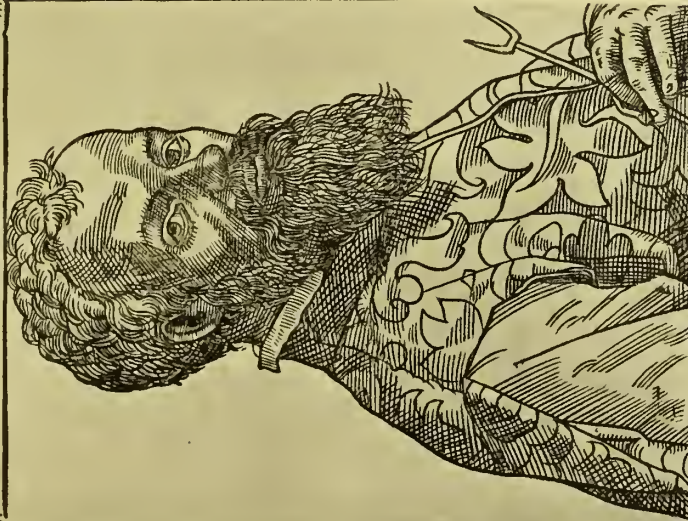
ANDREAS VESALIVS ARCHIA-
ter Cæsareus;



*Magnus homo, magni mihi credita cura Monarchæ:
Corporis humani fabrica, maior bonos.*

M. D. LXIII.

ANDREAS VESALIVS ARCHIA-
ter Cæsareus;



*Magnus homo, magni mihi credita cura Monarchæ:
Corporis humani fabrica, maior bonos.*

M. D. LXIV.

(a)

7.—1587. Attributed to J. C. STIMMER; more probably by C. MAURER

(b)

Woodcut for *Icones sive Imagines virorum Literis illustrium*, collected by N. Reusner, and published by B. Jobin, Strassburg

VESALIUS ANDREAS
Archiarer Cæsareus.



*Magnus honor, magni mihi credita cura Mo-
narChæ.
Corporis humani fabrica, major honor.*



Andreas Vesalius / Medicus und Kais.
Carls des fünfften Leibarg. m. 1564.

(c)

(d)

7A.—Attributed to J. C. STIMMER; more probably by C. MAURER
Woodcut for *Icones sive Imagines virorum Literis illustrium*, collected by N. Reusner, and published by B. Jobin, Strassburg
(c) The German Edition, 1587
(d) The Edition of 1590

The plate is one of the portraits* in *Icoues sive Imagines virorum Literis illustrivm . . . Recenseute Nicolao Reusnero ac Curante Beruardo Iobino. Privilegio Casario. Argentorati. M.D.XIIIC.*† The volume is a duodecimo. The preface bears the same date. It may be noted that ninety-nine persons are indexed in the volume; but in the copies I have examined the number of portraits is only forty-four. A condensed biography faces the portrait of Vesalius; on the *verso* are printed brief laudatory verses by B. Arias Montanus, I. S. [? Jo. Sambucus], Ioan Bartholomaeus, and Nicolas Reusner.

Four issues of this woodblock portrait were published. They are as follows:—

(a) That already described. This has a portion of a border top and bottom, enclosing the two inscriptions. The block itself is bordered by a line only: this breaks the woodcut border.

(b) Same inscriptions, except that larger type is used for the upper lines, while, at the bottom, "M.D.LXIV" is replaced by "M.D.LXIII." In this print a woodcut border of the same pattern is carried around the whole, and at $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (3 cm.) distance from the sides. In some copies the border is not continued along the top. The dimensions are— $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. (14 cm. \times 9 cm.).

(c) German edition (1587) referred to in our previous note. There is no inscription above. Below, in German-Gothic "black-letter" type:—

**Andreas Vesalius Medicus und Kais.
Carls des fünfften Leibark. m. 1564.**

Beneath the portrait is a set of German verses, likewise attributed to Reusner. If they are really by him they exhibit a sad falling off when the poet diverted his Muse from Latin to his native tongue. The doggerel runs thus:—

* Numbered "R. IIII" and not "R. III" as given in the index to the volume.

† I.e. Strassburg, 1587. Roth (*op. cit.*, p. 444) is in error in giving the dates as 1590 and 1594. This Latin edition was followed a few months later by the German edition: Christoph (Nicolaus) Reusner, *Contrafacturbuch. Ware und Lebendiger Bildunssen etlicher weitberühmter vnd Hochgethrten Männer in Teutschland, Strassburg, B. Jobin, 1587.* This edition contains 103 portraits cut on wood, 8vo. Stimmer also provided similar woodcuts for Reusner's *Emblemata*, 1590-1591. There was a second edition, *ex secunda recognitione*, published in 1590—doubtless one of those to which Roth refers. It is imprinted: *Curante Bernthardo Iobino. Nicolai Reusneri.*

Brüssel in Flandern mich gebar,
 Der Artzney hoch erfahren ich war,
 Keyser Carls Leibartz hoch berhümbt,
 Die Insel Zante mirs leben nimpt.

(In these three the block being the same—with its surrounding line—it has the same dimensions.)

(d) No border or border lines. Inscription above:—

VESALIUS ANDREAS
 Archiater Cæfareus.

Below, the Latin lines, divided thus :

*Magnus honos, magni mihi credita cura Mo-
 narchæ :*
Corporis humani fabrica, major honos.

at the top left corner : 272. This is the 1590 edition already mentioned.

The portrait is well cut on wood, frankly and boldly done. The modelling is simple and expressive. But the head is flattened and rounded, and the enlarged features have been coarsened. The vivaciousness and expression of alertness of the *Fabrica* have disappeared; dignity and refinement, alike as to the tired gaze and the attitude, have greatly suffered. The nose is more bulbous; the mouth larger and heavier; the full lips are pushed into a pout, so that the result is grossness. The hair is much lighter than the beard.

The attribution of this woodcut to Tobias Stimmer instead of to Christoph Maurer or to Johann Christoph Stimmer, is general, but, I am convinced, erroneous. Even Monsieur Paul Ganz, the learned Keeper of the Bâle Museum, is of the orthodox opinion. "Stimmer's engraving," he writes to me, "is in the first edition of Reusner. It is certainly by Stimmer" [that is to say, by Tobias Stimmer] "for Tobias was still alive at the time. The portraits which we can identify as by him are always well drawn, generally after portraits, or, if the persons were accessible, from life.* For that reason we can trust Reusner. It is likely enough that his younger brother, Christoph, may have copied Tobias's blocks

* The reader hardly needs to be reminded of the excellence of Tobias Stimmer as an oil-painter. No one who has examined his decorations of the great clock in the Strassburg Cathedral will dispute for a moment his great ability. Visitors to the Bâle Museum will remember with respect his two pictures (Nos. 577 and 578) which are signed and dated—"THOBYAS STYMER—1564," painted in the year of Vesalius's death.

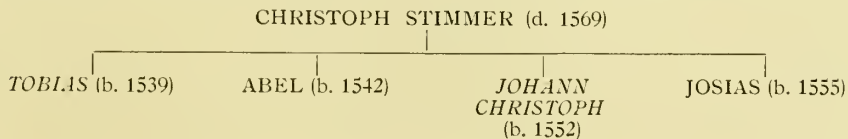
for the later editions." It will be observed that M. Ganz says "well drawn" not "well engraved": the crux is there.

I have never believed that this woodcut is from the facile and skilful hand of Tobias, who executed the portraits to which M. Ganz particularly refers. In technical handling this portrait of Vesalius, as attentive comparison proves, is more primitive in character, more simple in its hard, stiff lines, and more open in work, "younger" and less complicated, than what is to be found in the acknowledged work of Tobias. No doubt there is here as much sincerity and frankness in the handling as in Tobias's undoubted woodcut portraits, but there is less ease and suppleness. For these reasons alone this portrait of Vesalius (among certain others) might be ascribed to his brother-assistant Johann Christoph, if not to his pupil Christoph Maurer.

In point of fact, in the last edition of Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (1905) it is plainly stated that Johann Christoph engraved this block; but a still higher authority, Bartsch, in his *Peintre Graveur*, is definitive on the subject in an adverse sense. He will not even admit that J. C. Stimmer ever engraved upon wood at all; to suppose that he did, says he, is an error for which Papillon* by his original statement, is responsible—and later writers, like a flock of sheep, have followed Papillon's lead. Bartsch insists that without a doubt it was "Christoph Maurer Tigurinus (= "of Zurich"—painter and draughtsman, and pupil of Tobias Stimmer) who was the engraver of the portrait," and he reminds us of Reusner's testimony, in his preface, to the effect that "*c'est Maurer qui est auteur des bois gravés d'après les bois de Tobie Stimmer*"—that is to say, cut on the wood after Tobias's drawings on the block. From this authority there can be no appeal.

* J. M. Papillon, in his *Traité historique et pratique de la gravure sur bois* (Paris, 1766 Vol. I, p. 242) speaks also of an edition of Conrad Valdkirch of 1591 (first edition, 1589) and praises the portraits which he attributes to "S. Virchem"—by whom, says Mihsen, he means C. S. Sicheim. Papillon adds that the portraits are "by" Tobias and that Reusner in his two prefaces "mentions only Tobias Stimmer." That would be equally true if he referred to the draughtsman only and ignored the engraver, as we do when we speak of "Calcar's plates" in the *Fabrica*, not referring to the men who cut them.

As the brothers Stimmer worked at the same time and more or less in collaboration, even in painting, it is perhaps desirable to set forth their names here:—



8 and 8^A. (c. 1590.) ANONYMOUS.

Woodcut.

Dimensions : The full page text with its border—17 in. by 13 in. (43 cm. × 33 cm.); border of woodcut with the figure—10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (27.25 cm. × 19 cm.); length of head—2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (7 cm.).

One of the "Fugitive Sheets" (*Feuilles volantes*)—printed and issued by Schonbornio,* in which the head of Vesalius, three-quarter view, is set upon the body of a naked man, seated facing the spectator. It is headed : TABVLA EXHIBENS INSIGNORIA MARIS VISCERA.

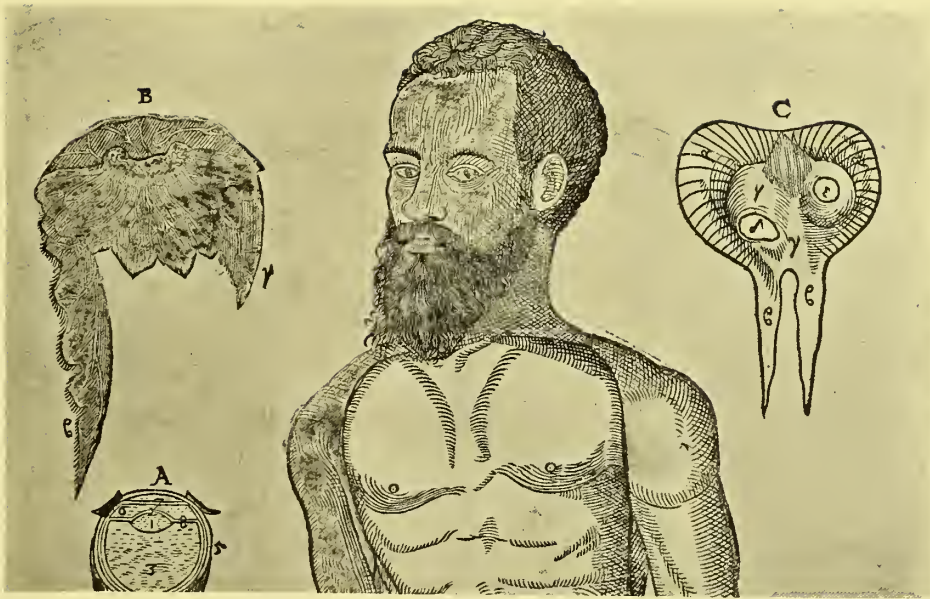
This rather archaic woodcut, touched up in parts with colour, is an attempt by an engraver of little competence to reproduce a reversed copy, made by a still more incompetent draughtsman, of Calcar's portrait of Vesalius in the *Fabrica*.† It is to be observed that the mole, or wart (*Muttermal*), which has already been discussed, is introduced over the eyebrow.

It is a full size summarily and unintelligently executed rendering, with bungled forms—especially in the case of the eyes and ear—without any endeavour at good drawing. The main thing, of course, is the anatomical illustration, such as it is, and the explanatory Latin text. The draughtsman, as Dr. Harvey Cushing writes, in sending me the photograph here reproduced, "merely appears to have put on the Vesalian features, as a guarantee so to speak, of the correctness of the anatomy." "The woodcutter," says Dr. Leroy Crummer, "has attempted to replace the bearded head of the older cuts with the features of Vesalius. Not satisfied with the first result, the artist has changed the famous hair line and the head in each issue of the woodcut. There are at least two and possibly three variations of this plate which differ only in shape of the beard and the hair line"—and he adds that the two heads "show changes made by woodcutters in re-issuing the plate ca. 1590."

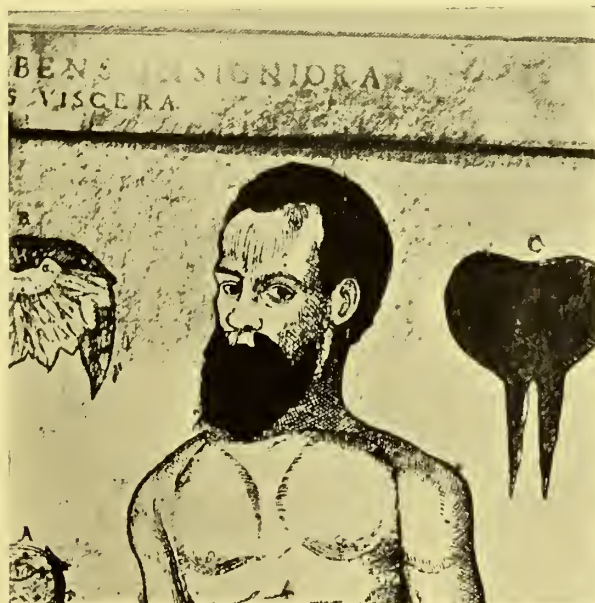
This, I am convinced, after careful examination, is erroneous. The block is the same in both cases—no copyist could produce so close an imitation—the truth being that in the second impression the block is badly worn out and, as is sometimes done even to-day in the case

* *Viteberge in gratiam studiosa iuuentutis discuntis elementa doctriæ Anatomice in libello di Auiua, edita à Barth. Schorubouio, Vni[teberg]* (not "Viitebergæ" as Dr. Leroy Crummer has it).

† And see : Dr. Leroy Crummer : *Early Anatomical Fugitive Sheets* : in the *Annals of Medical History*, New York, 1923, V. 3, pp. 189 *et seq.*



8A.—C. 1590. (a) From the FUGITIVE SHEET (with flaps) issued by Schonbornio, with the head of Vesalius



8B.—C. 1590. (b) A late and worn print from the block above, heavily coloured; hitherto thought to be a variant

(By favour of Dr. Leroy Crummer, Omaha)

of seriously deteriorated plates, coloured impressions were issued. For colours, while flattering the eye, cover up defects. In this case the pigment has been foolishly slapped on, even on to the background, as is seen in the copy belonging to Dr. J. G. de Lint (of Gorinchem, Holland) of which a photograph has been shown to me by Dr. Charles Singer. In the result the resemblance has been greatly reduced, while the careless brush of the dauber, besides distorting shapes, has accidentally missed the moustache, on which traces of the woodcut lines are distinctly to be seen. This has misled Dr. Crummer into the belief that "the lip is bare."*

9. 1597/9 (1642). JOHANN ISRAEL DE BRY (d. 1611. Flemish School).
Hitherto attributed to THEODOR (1528-1597), or to his other son, JOHANN THEODOR (1561-1623).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : with the border— $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{16}$ in.

(10.3 cm. × 10.3 cm.);

portrait only— $4\frac{1}{16}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. (10.3 cm. × 8.5 cm.);

Signed : in the field, to right :— **IB**

The portrait is within an arched border, the arch resting upon two truncated fluted columns. In the tympana, a decorative design (including fish, moon-mask, and flowers). On the arch, over the portrait the Inscription:—ANDREAS VESALIUS ANATOMICUS. On the sill, beneath :—*Nasc, Bruxelis | A^o, 1514 | Obijt circa Zacijnthuum, | A^o 1564. M. Oct.* And below, but still within the border :—

*Corporis humani qui neubra secaret & artus,
Vesalio uemo doctior aute fuit,*

—verses adapted from the first two lines of those which Benedictus Arias Montanus appended to the portrait engraved in 1572 by Philipp Galle (*q. v.*).

Vesalius is represented nearly half-length, turned to the left, the head is directed more than three-quarters towards the spectator, and holding in his right hand a *hamulus*, or retractor, against his breast. This figure, it will be seen, is a fairly accurate copy, though somewhat "improved,"

* The original of the Plate here shown is with C. Lang, of Rome ; it is photographed by the Oxford University Press.

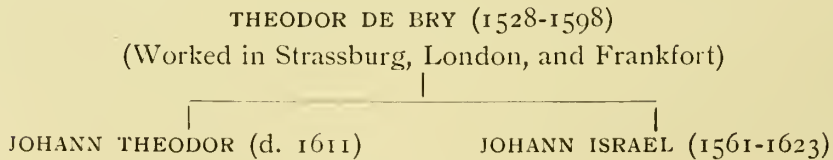
of the Stimmer (Maurer) woodcut last described (No. 7). It is for this reason, the copy having been made direct from its original on to the copper, it appears reversed when printed.

It is skilful work and naturally much more finished and refined than the woodcut. Seeing how the artist has succeeded in retaining the character of his original—while softening to some extent its hard and severe expression—one may regret that he did not devote his talent to copying the head in the *Fabrica*. As in the Stimmer-Maurer block, the hair is here rendered in a much lighter tone, as if it were fair or grey, while the beard is dark.

The plate was engraved for the work which Boissard published in two sections, 1597-1599* : *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustrium: Jan. Jac. Boissardo Vesnnti, per Th. de Bry. Leodiencivem† francofurti. Anno MDCXCVII [sic], (4to)*; and the second: *Iconum viros virtute atque eruditioni illustres representantium. Theodorij de Brij, Leod. Franfordii at Moenũ. Anno MDXCIX*. This last volume, the fourth part of the entire work, is that which contains the portrait of Vesalius, numbered above "XLVII," on p. 196, and in the other edition on p. 314.‡ At the foot of the page in the former is the catch-word "AN-."

The plate in Boissard's book is numbered above "Pl. 47"; this is removed in the succeeding editions in which the plate appeared.

The De Brys were all native of Liège, and worked together; they are recorded thus:—



As to the date of this plate, supposing that it was prepared for the first volume, the father was sixty-nine years old and within a year of his death; if only for the volume in which it appeared, he was already dead.

* Not 1597-98, as given by Roth.

† Of Liège.

‡ This portrait reappears in the work published later under the title: J. JAC. BOISSARDUS *Bibliotheca Chalcographica illustrium virorum. J. Theod. De Bry, Francof, 1642, 9 parles (4to)*. In this edition the verses beneath the portrait are followed by the signature—"Mm 3." In the Heidelberg edition, 1669, the plate is to be found on leaf 139. See also the other works published by the sons of Theodor de Bry (who called themselves *Gebrüder* or *Fralres*) as in the folio: *Architectura* by Daniel Meyer, *gedruckt in Verlegung Johannis Theodori vnd Joli. Israel de Bry Gebrüder, M.DCIX: Frankfurt am Mayn*.



9.—Engraved by J. I. DE BRY

[1597-] 1599. For J. J. Boissard's *Iconum viros . . . representantium . . .*

1642 and 1669. Re-issued (with page mark) in Boissard's *Bibliotheca illustratum virorum*

In either case the authorship of it may be regarded as the work of one of the two brothers, either of whom might be thought to claim the monogram **IB** (IBR). (All the earlier plates of this collection, although unsigned, have been attributed if not to Theodor the Elder, to Johann Theodor). But Johann Theodor's three monograms are well known and they are utterly different. The plates reveal an expert hand, supple and facile, with a rich touch, and remarkable fertility in the fancy of their conception in respect of decorative motifs.

In contrast with these many of the plates signed with the monogram are so much harder in technique, more elementary in conception and execution, that not a few of them appear to be the work of an apprentice.* These I confidently attribute to the brother Israel, who sometimes—as in this portrait of Vesalius—attained a higher level, thanks to the simplicity of his method and the cleanness of his engraved line. The testimony of Bryan (*Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*) may be called in witness: he affirms that De Bry's son Israel "added considerably to the Collection of Portraits of Illustrious Persons which his father had begun," both brothers being engaged upon the extensive work.

The majority of the plates are decorated with the arched border with modifications of details; a number of the portraits, however, are set in false ovals.

10. Late 16th century. ANONYMOUS.

Woodcut.—[In imitation of a medal.]



Dimensions: $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter (3.5 cm.);

Height of bust— $1\frac{5}{16}$ in. (3.4 cm.).

Inscription: around the figure—AND REAS
VESALIVS.

Vesalius is represented turned to the left, the head nearly three-quarter face. Badly drawn, badly cut, badly printed. The connection between this "portrait" and the anatomist it claims to represent is to be recognized only by his engraved name and by the pattern on his doublet; yet no doubt this little cut is

10.—Late 16th century.
Imitation of a medal.

based on the *Fabrica* Woodcut.

* Horace Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Engravers* (Strawberry Hill, 1765) declares that "Theodore the Younger engraved the heads for Boissard's Collection of eminent Persons." But from his remarks it may be judged that he had little acquaintance with these plates, if indeed he had ever examined them critically at all.

11. End of 16th or beginning of 17th century. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : of figure (no background or border), $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 4 in.
(12.5 cm. \times 10 cm.).

Description: (engraved on the plate in lettering remarkable for the complete ignorance and incompetence displayed)—

ANDREÆ VESALII.

This plate, in which the standing figure of Vesalius is shown half-length turned to the left, and the head three-quarters, is undoubtedly old and printed on paper of the period ; some copies with the water-mark—NF. It is evidently intended for a book-plate. It has been suggested that "it is in the style of Elstrack in his more unfortunate moments." It is more likely to be the work of some incompetent engraver in the early etching manner, more accustomed to outline than to the rendering of chiaroscuro—and rejected on its demerits.

It is a particularly bad copy, reversed, of the *Fabrica* Woodcut. Yet bad as it is, no other engraver had tried with more devotion—pathetic, indeed, amid the general failure—accurately to imitate the costume, with its pattern and its folds, and to retain with correctness the various dimensions of the figure. This effort must be recognized and praised, for there is nothing else which merits approval. The left hand is a close copy, but it no longer bears any relation to dissection. On some impressions of the plate the lines sketching in the table before which the anatomist is supposed to stand are vaguely visible, as well as indications of the curtain at the back. The engraver probably stopped in despair (if he was not ordered to abandon his work) before proceeding to draw in the upright corpse, and decided to introduce a right arm and hand of his own imagining to replace it. Contemptible failure has attended his efforts. That right hand is execrably ill-drawn ; it is supposed to hold in its grasp a sheaf of papers, but these are not *in* the hand but behind it. There are suggestions of corrections, but no amount of retouching could have saved the plate. That, perhaps, is why impressions are occasionally to be found separately, but never, I believe, are met with in a book. Doubtless the copper was rejected by the publisher for whom it was intended ; not even the fact that the nose comes closer to the original than we find in more artistically executed copies could induce a reputable publisher to risk his fair fame over it.

Monsieur Courboin, the distinguished Keeper of the Cabinet des



19.—1676. From *Microscopium Physiognomiae Medicam* . . . by J. F. Helvetius
 In imitation of the Plate in Sambucus
 (See here, Plate facing p. 146, and Text p. 164)



11.—C. 1600. Line Engraving
 Artist and place of publication unknown



20.—1681-2. By EDMÉ DE BOULONOIS
 In *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*, by Isaac Bullart
 (See p. 164)

Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, agrees with us as to the genuineness of this plate. Doubts have been cast upon it—such as were justifiably cast upon certain plates re-engraved for Richardson, the well-known and over-enterprising print-publisher of the eighteenth century; but that is because at one time it was reprinted on comparatively yet not very modern paper, and the market was flooded with the impressions. What can have encouraged the re-issue of so poor a performance it is impossible to imagine.

A copy of this plate exists, reversed, cut upon wood.

12. End of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century.

LÉONARD GAULTIER (1552/60-1641. French School).



12.—c. 1600. By Léonard GAULTIER. In his *Chronographic Collée*.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions: $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$ (3.5 cm. \times 2.6 cm.);
of the whole double-plate— $18\frac{3}{8}$ in. by
 $10\frac{5}{8}$ in. (46.8 cm. \times 27 cm.).

Inscription: along the top: POVRTRAICTZ · DE ·
PLVSIEVRS · HOMMES · ILLUSTRES ·
QVI · ONT · FLORY · EN · FRANCE ·
DEPVIS · LAN · 1500 · IVSQVES ·
A · PRESENT.

[The words “flory en France,” so far as Vesalius is concerned, is presumably an allusion to his having attended at the University of Paris.]
In the top left corner, the number—104.

This little plate, showing head and shoulders only, is unlike any other portrait of Vesalius of its period. It seems to have been based less on the Woodcut (or any copy of it) than on the little head in the title-page of the second edition of the *Fabrica* (1555), *q.v.* Here, also, the hair is not curly, but brushed back, and the head seems to represent a man of about forty years of age.

This well-known engraving is one of the 144 little portraits constituting the “*Chronographic Collée*.” This remarkable series is engraved entirely on two copper plates which were joined side by side and printed on a single sheet of paper; it consists of eight rows of eighteen portraits each, much like an unperforated sheet of postage-stamps of to-day. In ordinary impressions (some of which were printed on white paper, and the rest on dark cream—perhaps signifying different editions) the portraits are numbered, Vesalius being No. 104. In proofs, one of

which is in the Cabinet des Estampes in Brussels, the numbers do not exist. Bibliographical text accompanied the portraits. That touching Vesalius runs as follows: "104. *ANDRÉ Vesale, de Bruxelles, celebre Medecin du Roy d'Espagne, & réputé le plus docte Anatomiste & Chirurgien de son age, appelé par Fallope Stupendum naturæ Miraculum, a eternisé se memoire par ses doctes escrits.*" What nobler tribute in fewer words could have been paid to Vesalius than this testimony of his contemporary and predecessor in the Chair at Padua?

In the opinion of Charles Blanc the manner and style of this plate recall the work of Crispin de Passe.* It is obvious that the technique suggests a Flemish hand. Gaultier was a prolific engraver: a single collection of his engravings comprised not fewer than eight hundred of his pieces. Henri Bouchot rightly calls him "*un des portraitistes les plus importants du temps.*"†

13. 1604. FRANCESCO VALEGIO (1560-1611. Venetian School).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions: 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 8 in. (30 cm. × 20.2 cm.).

Signature (in bottom right corner): F. Valegi^o

[As there was no room for the last letter on the plate the engraver was compelled to place it above the "i." It is for this reason that certain writers not recognizing this fact have given his name as "Valegi."]

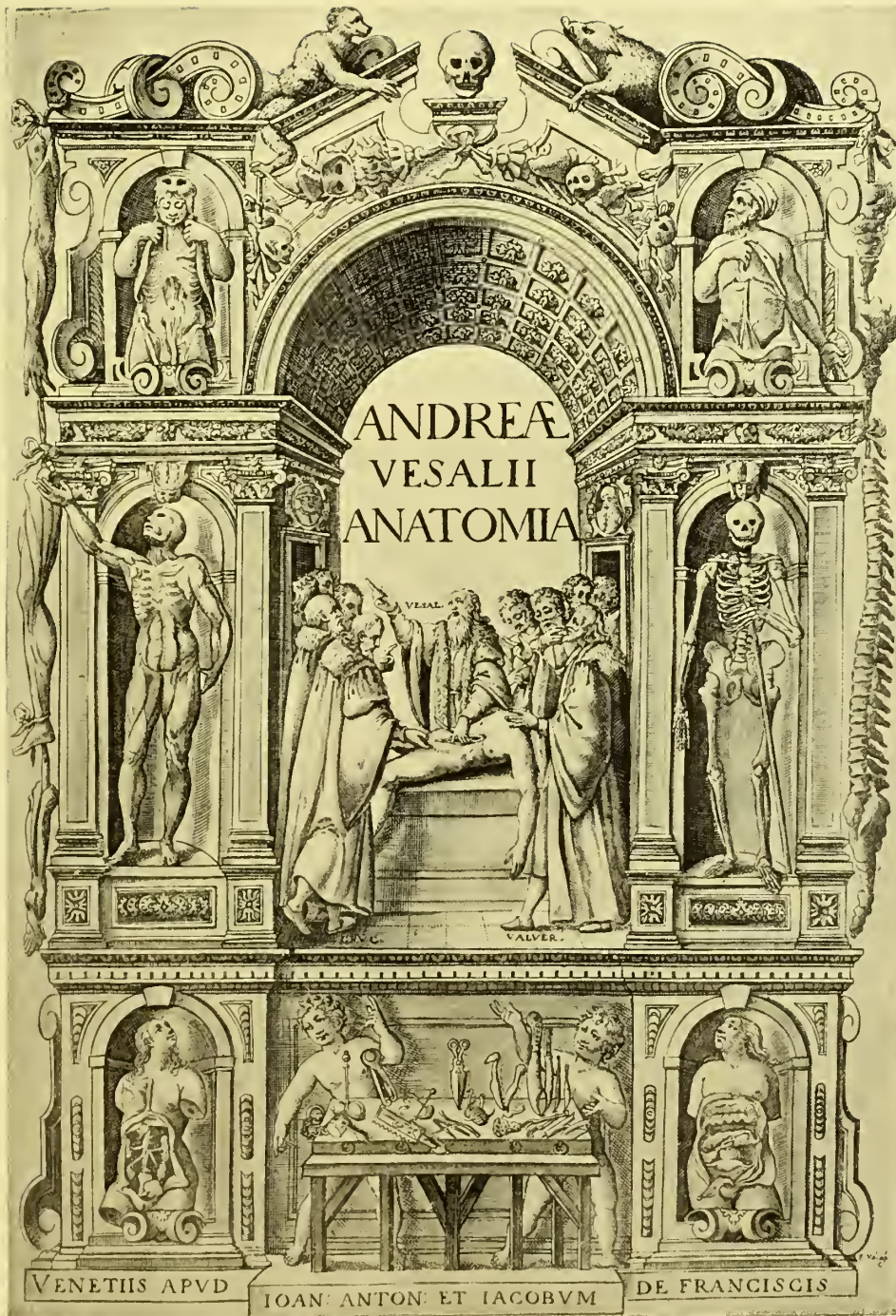
This noble title-page, which is undated, is the chief decoration of an edition of the works of Vesalius rare enough to have been overlooked by the omniscient Brunet. The title runs thus: ANDRÆ | VESALII | ANATOMIA | — | VENETHIS APVD IOAN : ANTON : ET IACOBVM DE FRANCISCIS—published by the brothers de Franciscis in 1604 (sm. fo.).‡ The composition,§ admirably engraved, comprises eight compartments

* See Ch. Blanc: *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*. Paris, 1856. P. 275, No. 156.

† H. Bouchot: *Le Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (N.D.).

‡ The engraver Francesco (Francescus) Valegio (or Valesio, Valeggio, and Valegius) of Verona, was born at Bologna—according to others at Venice—and was not only engraver on copper and on wood, but painter and art-dealer as well. He enjoyed, deservedly, a great reputation as designer and engraver of frontispieces and title-pages as well as book-illustrations.

§ It is evident that it has been inspired by the frontispiece (or title-page) of the work by Realdus Columbus Cremonensis: *De Re Anatomice Libri XI*. MDLIX (See "THE STAGING OF ANATOMY LESSONS," *supra*).



13.—1604. Fancy Portrait of Vesalius
Engraved by F. VALEGIO
In the Title-page of *Andreas Vesalii Anatomia*
Issued by A. and J. De Franciscis, of Venice

the most important of which contains the title and, below it, an anatomy-scene presided over by Vesalius. On either side and before him are grouped ten robed men beneath a magnificent triumphal arch with coffred roof. The two side doors within the arch are surmounted by medallions—on the left is “Galenus,” on the right, “Hipocras.” In the middle, facing the spectator, stands Vesalius, demonstrating on a body the abdomen of which he has opened with the knife he still holds in his left hand. The “portrait,” apparently based upon Titian’s picture in the Pitti Palace—or else, one would say, on the portrait of Vesalius’s admirer Jo. Phil. Ingrassias—represents an aged patriarch whom even the engraver is aware is totally unrecognizable, wherefore he has engraved the name “VESAL.” besides the old man’s head. We conclude, therefore, that the personage is intended not as a likeness but as a symbol; yet even so the reason of the misrepresentation is unintelligible. Similarly, the two venerable figures, right and left, are labelled “CRVC.” and “VALVER.” The symbolism must be held to excuse the anachronism. In *Crvc.* we must recognize Giovanni Andreas della Croce whose *Chirurgia Universale* was to follow also in Venice, a year later than this edition of Vesalius (1605). In *Valver.* we meet the amiable Spanish plagiarist of Vesalius, Joan de Valverde who at this time was living in Rome, but who from 1544 to 1555 was a resident of Padua.* The four niches in the corners of the plate representing half-length figures, male and female, are devoted to minor subjects of splanchnology. In the middle, at the left, is the standing figure of a man with skin removed † (myology) and at the right, a skeleton (osteology). Below, we meet again the table covered with instruments used in dissection, copied from a plate in the *Fabrica* and *Epitome* (in their different editions) with the attractive addition of two little naked boys gesticulating with incomprehensible joy around the lugubrious implements. This architectonic composition (which might be described as of the pseudo-free-Classic-Renaissance Order) is surmounted by monkey, pig, and skull—the significant emblems which have already been discussed, and which Valverde also was moved to adopt for his title-page.

* Valverde, of whom we have already spoken, had a passion for plagiarism. We see it not only in his plates but even in the title-page of his Italian edition (1560) entitled *Anatomia del corpo humano*, in which a number of elements of the arrangement and other essential details may be identified.

† Copied by Edme Bouchardon in his *Anatomic nécessaire pour l'usage du dessin*, 1741 (and 1802).

14. 1611-1612. ANONYMOUS (Flemish School).

Wood-cut—circular.

Dimensions: $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. diam. (4.2 cm.).

Inscription: Above—ANDREAS VESALIVS. Below—five lines of text, ending: *in Zacyntho iusula | moritur, Idibus Octobr. | 1564* *Ætatis 58.* (following the inscription of Philipp Galle).

This little plate is to be found in *IMAGINES DOCTORVM VIRORVM | e variis seutibus, elogijs | breuibus illustratæ | Valerius Andreas | Desselius Brabantus | publicabat | Antverpiæ | Apud Davidem Martiniuum | Anno MD. LXX. XII.* (Copies exist with the date 1611). Vesalius is represented turned to the left, the head almost full-face. As in the Stimmer-Maurer Woodcut, by which this portrait is inspired, the right hand holding a *hamulus* (or retractor, for purposes of dissection) is drawn to the breast, but only a part of it is visible. The portrait is fairly well realized.

This little block is the work of a wood-cutter who was almost a primitive in his art, but sincere in feeling and as accurate as his powers allowed. Moehsen (*op. cit.* 1771) in dealing with this pleasing book of Desselius speaks of the 73 portraits of this edition as “rather fine engravings, of the size of a *Species Thaler*.”


15. 1640. ANDREAS SALMINCIO (“A.S.F.”—Italian School).

Line-engraving on copper. [According to Drugulin, “engraved on wood,” but this is incorrect.]

Dimensions: With complete oval in rectangle containing the portrait— $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.5 cm. × 8 cm.); within the topographic double-line border— $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16.7 cm. × 10.7 cm.).

Signature: In the first impression, none. (A copy of this early state is in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris.)

In the print used in the Volume, next to the oval—

at the bottom, the monogram 

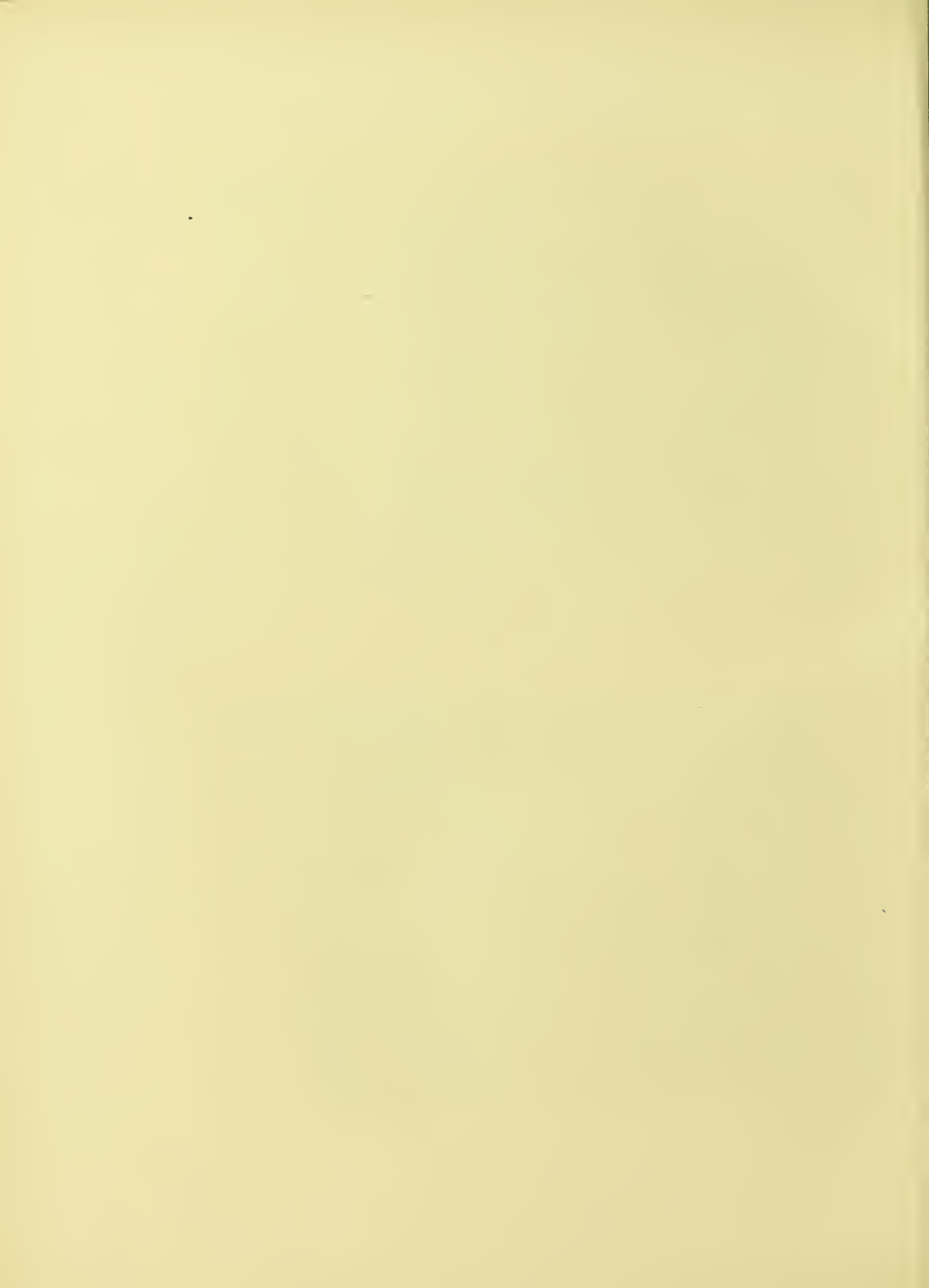
Inscription: Below, in typography—ANDREAS VESSALIVS. [*sic*]; above—54 Musæum Historicvm.

For a long while the authorship of this plate was regarded as a mystery. Various names were suggested: Ant. Stallaert (whose monogram was identical with one of the several adopted by Salmincio), even



ANDREAS VESSALIVS.

15.—1640. By A. SALMINCIO
Line Engraving in *Museum Historicum et Physicum*, by I. Imperialis
(First State, Unsigned)
(Second State, Signed)





16.—1642. Title-page of the Amsterdam Edition of the *Epitome* of Vesalius Edited by Nicolaus Fontanus

Andreas Stock (the copyist of Albrecht Dürer in 1626), Andreas Spangler (the line engraver, who was working in 1627), or, again, the Dutchman Adriaan Schoonebeck (working in 1654), and A. Setch (1656)—no one seemed too impossible for consideration, whatever his style or nationality. Some were misled by the final F, which they took to signify the initial of a surname, instead of the word *fecit*. The oversight was perhaps excusable; yet the well-known monogram of Marc Antonio—(MAF = Marc Antonio Fecit)—should have afforded the necessary clue. Even acknowledged authorities such as Nagler, who could only speak of our monogrammist as “*ein unbekannter italienischer Kupferstecher*,” and Brulliot, as “*un artiste médiocre du XVIIe siècle*,” several of whose plates were known but no personal details—had to confess themselves at fault in their research. Yet the discovery had already been made. They overlooked the fact that J. C. W. Moehsen, in his book—*Verzeichnis einer Sammlung von Bildnissen*, etc. (Berlin, 1771) declared the plate to be the work of the Italian engraver (and printseller) Andreas Salmincio, pupil of Giovanni Luigi Valegio (probably the younger brother of Francisco—see No. 13 *supra*). His opinion was confirmed later, by the plate being recognized as belonging to the quarto volume *Musaevm Historicvm et Physicvm* (p. 54) by Ioannis Imperialis, published at Venice in 1640—*Venetis apud Juntas*.^{*} Even Mr. A. M. Hind, in his standard “Short History of Engraving and Etching” (1908), omits all reference to Salmincio.

This portrait of Vesalius, turned to the right, so closely resembles the painted portrait at the Louvain University (destroyed in the early days of the War) that it is scarcely to be doubted that it was inspired by it, or by a drawing from it, in spite of the fact that it is slightly less full face. That it is reversed is but to be expected in such a plate at this period. It is certainly the original which De Boulonois copied for his engraving made for Bullart (*vide infra*).

Vesalius is here represented as less furnished with hair on the temples than in any other portrait of the time. The eyes direct their gaze at a lower level than in the *Fabrica* Woodcut. In the second

* Why this important work should have been unrecognized it is impossible to explain. In the volume are numerous portraits by the same engraver, presenting an unusual variety of forms in the signatures. Besides the monogram already reproduced, there are—“*A. Salmincio. f.*,” “*A. Salmincius f.*,” “*And. Salmincio. f.*,” “*A. Satm° f.*”; and some are without signature.

See also: JO. IMPERIALIS: *Museum historicum quo illustrium litteris virorum clogia . . . continetur. Recusa ad edit. que tuncm vidit Venetiis . . .* 1640. (P. 56).

“state” of this print—which, by the way, is usually to be found printed crooked on the page—the oval-lined background reveals added shading work; this has been imitated with some care by De Boulonois, who, however, has suppressed the decorative corners.

16. 1642. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving. Unsigned.

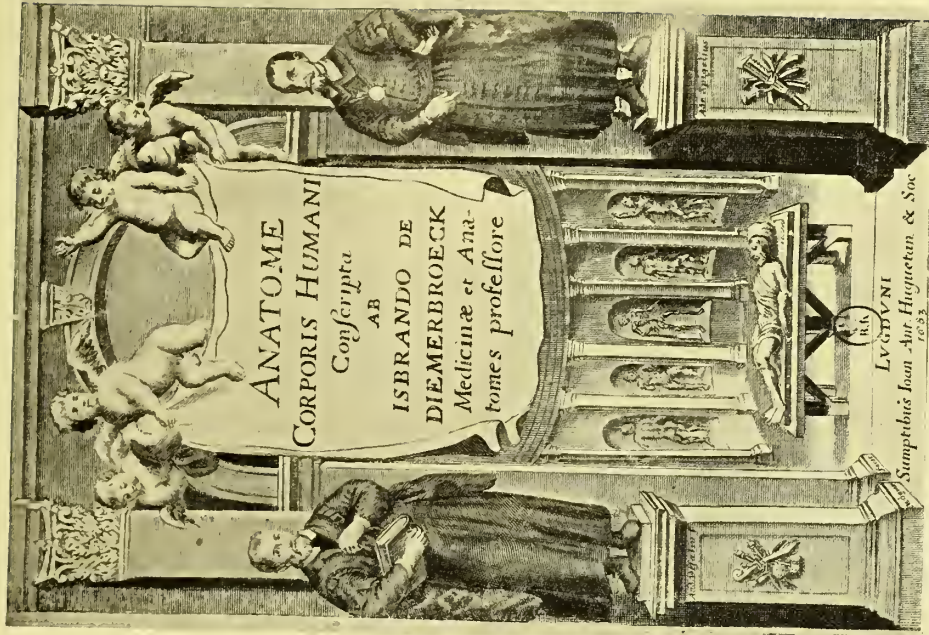
Dimensions : $12\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{16}$ in. (32·1 cm. × 20·5 cm.); the head of Vesalius— $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. (2·7 cm.) high.

This copper-plate is a good example of engraving in Holland in the seventeenth century. It is the title-page to a Dutch edition of an *Epitome* of the *Fabrica* by Vesalius. Beneath the finely displayed shield of the City of Amsterdam hangs a large *cartouche* in the form of drapery held aloft on the left by a naked man, and on the right by a skeleton. It bears the inscription :—

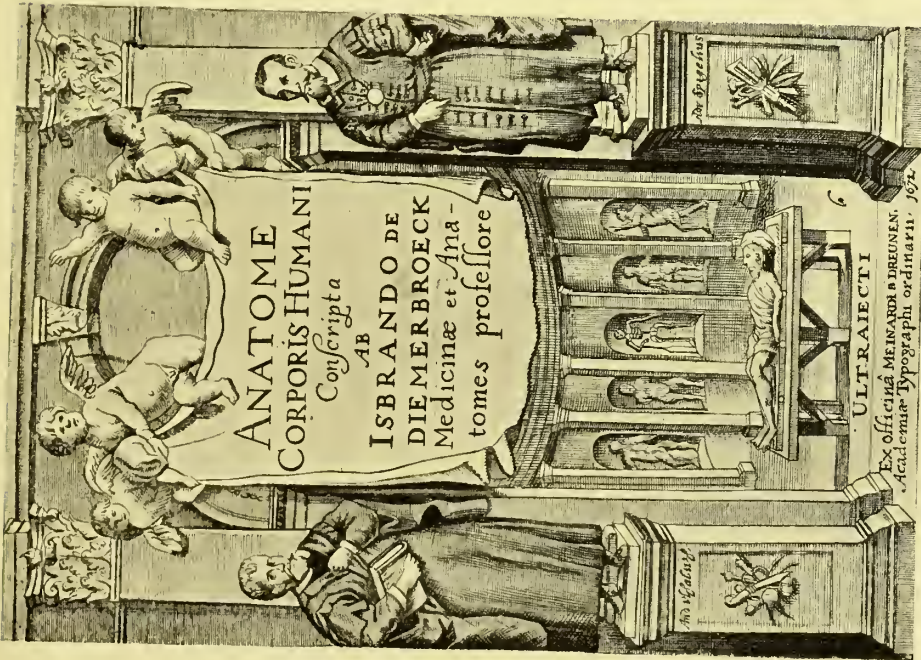
LIBRORVM | ANDREÆ VESALII | BRUXELLENSIS | DE HVMANI CORPO = |
RIS FABRICA | EPITOME : | Cum Annotationibus | NICOLAI FONTANI |
Amstelredamensis | *Medici*.

And below, in a *cartel* within the field of the plate : AMSTELODAMI, |
Apud Ioannem Ianfsonium. | CIO IO CXLII.

Between these two inscriptions appears the anatomy scene already mentioned. In the foreground a corpse partly dissected lies upon a couch : it is the body of a woman whose head is concealed by an ample drapery. Vesalius uncovers the body ; and by a similar gesture four of his companions, two at each side of him, all draw attention to it. Their leader, Vesalius, seen at half-length, stands in the middle facing the spectator ; he wears a falling collar, a doublet, and an academic robe—all of the period at which the engraving was produced. In his effort to render as a full-face the three-quarter portrait of the *Fabrica* the engraver has failed ; the likeness comes nearer to the Titian portrait in the Pitti Palace, without being an obvious copy of it. There is therefore no serious iconographic interest in the plate ; only its artistic rendering lends it importance. This excellence, by comparison, throws greater discredit on the incompetently wrought engraving of the copy of the *Fabrica* Woodcut which accompanies it, and which, as has already been implied, dishonours the volume. (See I^B *supra*.)



18.—1683. By MATHEU ÂGIER
 Title-page of the (Lyons) Edition of *Anatome Corporis Humani*
 by Isbrand de Diemerbroeck



17.—1672. Title-page of the First (Utrecht) Edition of *Anatome Corporis Humani* by Isbrand de Diemerbroeck

17. 1672. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : Height of standing figure—3 in. (7·5 cm.).

Inscription : On the pedestal beneath the figure—

And vesalius.

This full-length figure of Vesalius—a sort of “living statue”—is an attempt at true portraiture. It appears in the well-imagined title-page to the ANATOME | CORPORIS HUMANI | *Conscripta* | AB ISBRANDO DE | DIEMERBROECK* | Medicinæ et anatomes professore | — | which title is inscribed on a drapery held up by four *putti* with outstretched wings. Below is the imprint : ULTRAJECTI | Ex officinâ MEINARDI á DREUNEN, | Academiæ Typographi ordinarii, 1672.

The ill-equipped engraver has followed the artist's design of an architectonic decoration, with pilasters, and free Corinthian capitals, together with five niches (arranged in apse-form, atrociously ill-drawn in respect of the columns) which are occupied by a skeleton and four male figures, posed in the manner of anatomical plates. In the foreground a partly draped corpse lies prone on a table ; upon either side, on a pedestal, is the figure of an anatomist, the objects of the author's particular devotion. On the left is “And Vesalius” and on the right, “Adr Spigelius”—a fellow-Fleming, and a successor to Vesalius in the professorship at Padua. The figures are not statues, but the men themselves — the artist has made no attempt to represent them in sculptural fashion. The portrait of Vesalius is clearly based on the *Fabrica* woodcut.

In the next edition of the book the artistic merit of the engraving is on a much higher plane. This is now described :

18. 1683. MATHIEU ÔGIER. (Op. 1680-1710. French School.)

Line-engraving.

Signature : across the bases of the two columns on the left—

M : Ôgier fecit

In this plate the title is the same. The imprint reads :

LVGDVNI | Sumptibus Ioan Ant. Huguetan & Soc. | 1683

Ôgier, painter and engraver, was by no means devoid of talent, and has produced a plate vastly superior in point of technical accomplishment

* Isbrand van Diemberbroeck, medical and anatomical writer, 1609-1674.


to that which he has copied ; but it must be confessed that, without the name inscribed on the base, and without the portly volume which suggests the *Fabrica*, we should have difficulty in recognizing this amiable figure, in its academic robe, as the sturdy anatomist, Vesalius.

19. 1676. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : of the plate, with border—5 in. by $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (12.7 cm. × 8 cm.) ;

of the oval containing the portrait— $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. (8.8 cm. × 6.8 cm.).

Inscription : on the ornamental *cartouche* beneath the portrait, but in the field of the engraving—VESALIUS. 

In the top right corner—143

[The Mercurial symbol is intended to indicate that the portrait is that of a doctor in medicine : many of the plates in the volume have kindred indications. The number corresponds to that on the page which it faces.]

The bust of Vesalius is directed to the left. In few of the plates here described is the resemblance so completely missed. The cranium is flattened, and bulges, as it were, at the back ; the face is delicately oval in form, the nose almost aquiline. It is the portrait of a rather nice-looking fair young fellow—whose only likeness to Vesalius lies in the pattern on the doublet. The technical handling of it might indulgently be called summary rather than ignorant—it is characteristic of engravings published in inexpensive books of the period.

The plate is a frank copy, greatly reduced in size (and an equally notable failure), of that in the *Veterum aliquot ac recentium Medicorum* . . . etc. of Sambucus, issued a hundred years before—in 1574—as already described. It was published in Amsterdam in 1676 in the volume on physiognomy by Joannis Fridiricus Helvetius (*i.e.* Schweitzer). It is worth while to give in full the title of this book : *Microscopium | Physiognomiae | Medicum, | Id Est, | Tractatus | de | Physiognomia, | Cujus ope non solum auiini motus simul ac | Corporis defectus interni, sed & congrua | iis Remedia noscuntur per externorum | lineamentorum, formarum, colorum | odorum, saporum, domiciliorum | ac signaturam intuituum, | Qui harmonicam hominis constitutionem & mecandi | notitiam ex simplicibus indicat, | Authore | JOANNE FRIDIRICO HELVETIO*

| *Anhaltino Colthonsensi, Doctore Medicinæ* | *Anstelodami* | *Apud Janssouis-Waesbergias* | *Anno* CIO ICCLXXVI: a sufficiently copious title for a mere duodecimo. The plate is to be found between pages 143 and 145.

20. 1681/2 and 1695. EDMÉ DE BOULONNOIS (French School).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions: $7\frac{1}{16}$ in. by $5\frac{5}{16}$ in. (18 cm. \times 13.5 cm.);

of oval containing the portrait—

$5\frac{5}{16}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.6 cm. \times 10.8 cm.).

Inscription: below—*ANDREAS VESALIUS*

Edmé de Boulonnois fecit

[The unusual form of the “d” in the name “Edmé”* has betrayed writers into giving the engraver’s name as Esme—or even as a contraction of “Erasmé”.]

This was engraved by de Boulonnois for Isaac Bullart (“of the Order of Saint Michel”) whose *Académie des Sciences et des Arts, contenant les vies et les éloges historiques des hommes illustres depuis environ quatre siècles*, Paris, M.DC. LXXXII, in two volumes folio (the first in 1681), appeared also in 1695, with engraved plates, 4to, printed on the folio text-pages.† The portrait is bust-length, directed to the right, presented in an oval the background of which is graduated in its illumination. It is based upon Salmincio’s interpretation (1640—No. 15, *q.v.*) of the *Fabrica* Woodcut. The portrait is on the whole better than most of those which preceded it. The cranium comes nearer to being of the right height, but the face is too narrow, the expression is lost, the nose

* The name was not uncommon at the time: e.g., Edmé Mariotte, the physicist, c. 1620-1684, and Edmé Bouchardon, author of *Anatomic nécessaire pour l’usage du dessin*, 1741, mentioned *supra*.

† This plate was published afterwards in *Bibliotheca Belgica, sive Virorum in Belgico vitâ, scriptisque illustrum Catalogus . . . cura & studio Johannis Francisci Foppens, Bruxellensis, . . . Bruxellis, Per Petrum Foppens, Typographum et Bibliopolam, M.D.CC.XXXIX*.

Foppens admits that among his original plates—(Larmessin engraved the series in collaboration with de Boulonnois)—others were “borrowed” from Aubertus Miraeus and from J. Bullart in *Academiae scientiarum Isaaco Bullart divulgatae*. He equally laid Valerius Andreas and Franciscus Sweertius under contribution. Miraeus’s book mentioned by Foppens is that admirable volume *Elogia Belgica sive illustrorum Belgi scriptorum . . . vitae Brevis commemoratae studio AUBERTI MIRÆI Bruxellensis, canonici et bibliothecarii Antuerp. Antverpiae apud David Martinium, MDCIO CIX*. At the end of the biography of Vesalius, the epitaph on him is carefully reproduced: *Andriæ Vesalii Bruxellensis tumulus qui obiit idibus octobris annos MDCIO LXIV . . . Etatis suæ LVIII. cum ierosolymus redisset*. The exceptionally fine copy of this work consulted by the present writer is in the collection of M. A. Louis de Meuleneere, of Brussels.

is too short, the eyes too small, the forehead too straight and angular at the top, the cheek-bones not sufficiently protuberant; and, finally, the hair and beard are dark and of equal intensity of colour.

As regards technique, the engraving falls short of excellence; it is lacking in spirit and is hard throughout the head and features; in respect of the draperies it is all that could be desired.

21. 1683. T. VER CRUIJS (or Ver Cruys; d. after 1723. Netherlands-Italian School).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions: $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 10 in. (32.4 cm. \times 25.4 cm.).

Inscription: ANDREA VERSALIO | [*sic*]

Titianus pinx. T. Vergruijs sculp.

Another impression, c. 1725, is inscribed:—

Titianus pinx. T. Ver Cruijs sculp

ANDREA VERSALIO [*sic*]

Fran. Petrucci del.

T. Vercruys,* known in Italy under the name of Th. della Croce, was one of the best known engravers of Florence in the second half of the 17th century. Nagler states that he was the son of Th. Crüger or Krüger, and he ingenuously adds that it is not known why he changed his name. The reason, of course, is that he translated or adapted it, as was the custom in his day.

Yet according to Nagler, Ver Cruys was *ein unbekannter Kupferstecher*, in spite of the fact that his work had considerable merit, and that his undoubted competence had earned him an enviable vogue among publishers and art-lovers alike. His engraving of Vesalius was copied by Paradisi in 1842.

This large and, it must be allowed, this beautiful plate is a translator-engraving after the pseudo-portrait of Vesalius by Titian in the Pitti Palace in Florence (see *supra*). The figure is here represented as only a half-length instead of a three-quarter length, as in the original picture, and reversed. Excellent though the execution is, the reproduction is not as faithful as it should be. The tired aspect of the original, due to the drooping of the eyelids, has disappeared. The man has been in a measure rejuvenated—he is almost vivacious, and his hair has gained in thickness. As might be expected, along with his newly-affected youth he has lost half his dignity and nearly all his venerableness. But there is a fault more reprehensible: the engraver has omitted—and that from deliberate choice—the splendid scheme of light and

* Also Vergruijs, and Verkruijs. See also Brulliot and Nagler, *op. cit.*



21. 1633. By T. VER CRUYS
Engraved after the Picture by TITIAN
in the Pitti Gallery
FLORENCE

shade which invests the picture with its finest artistic quality and its supreme interest to the connoisseur. It is a consequence, too often seen, of the egotism practised by the technician: he valued more his engraved line and the virtuosity of his burin throughout the whole surface of this plate than the honour of his Master. The result is that the very success of his scheme of illumination dispels all the mystery of the original, and with the mystery that air of grandeur in which the figure was enveloped by the painter. The offence is against the artist, not against Vesalius—who, as has been shown, not being the personage of Titian's canvas, is here in no way concerned.

22. 1688. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions: With the inscription—3 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (7.5 cm. × 4.4 cm.);

Without inscription— $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. high (6.0 cm.).

Inscription: ANDREAS VESALIUS. | *Medicus & Anatomicus.*

This little plate, representing the bust of Vesalius turned to the left, is excellent as a piece of engraving, but indifferent as to portraiture: the head is flattened, the eye badly placed, the ear ill-drawn and much too high—and the whole as incorrect in effect as it is unjustifiably sad in aspect. The illumination is strong, and the shadows, prettily enough rendered, are over-accentuated. There can be no doubt that the plate was engraved from the memorial portrait of Vesalius belonging to the Faculté de Médecine de Paris (already here described), so closely does it follow the painting in its entire arrangement and presentment. It is possible, of course, that it is the original of the painting, but this appears less likely.



22.—1688.—Related to the Painting at the Faculté de Médecine, Paris. On a plate, with 15 others, in Freher's *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum.*

It was published in the collection of portraits put forth in the name of Paul Freher (or Froerus, 1611-1682): "*Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum, Noribergue, Impensis Joh. Hoffmanni, 1688.*" The issue in Nuremberg, there-

fore, took place six years after the collector's death. The engraving is one of the sixteen such on plate 56 in the folio album; and as Freher's *Theatrum* comprises 82 sheets, the total number of portraits in the collection amounts to not fewer than 1,312.

23. 1660. JAN VAN TROYEN (Flo. 1650-1660 Netherlands School).

Line-engraving.

Size : Quarto.

Inscription : *Titian p. — J. Troyen sc.*

The pseudo-portrait of Vesalius by Titian, in the Pitti Palace at Florence, is the subject of Troyen's graver. Troyen had undoubted skill, but he had a heavy hand, and usually he took little pains to obtain accuracy of detail. His highest level was attained when he engraved under Teniers's direction. (*See next number.*)

24. 1660. JAN VAN TROYEN.

Line-engraving.

Size : Octavo.

Inscription : *I. Titian p. 5 Alta, 4 Lata. I. Troyen s.*

It would be thought impossible that anyone could be induced to believe that this engraving, or the original of it, was intended for Vesalius or that it could be set up before the most credulous in the hope of acceptance as in any way connected with the *Fabrica* Woodcut. At the same time it cannot be denied that there is some sort of resemblance between it and the so-called portrait of Vesalius in the possession of the Royal College of Physicians—there attributed to Calcar. This personage, richly attired in his fur-faced robe, recalls in no particular the authentic portrait of the anatomist. He is shown half-length, three-quarters to the left, after a picture by Titian in the Pitti Palace in Florence—but not the so-called "portrait of Vesalius" already dealt with in this Study.

It is important to note that the impression of this engraving in the collection of the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, bears below in a seventeenth-century hand the name "*Nicsono Senator*"—evidently a contemporary identification of the sitter. It cannot be said that the correctness of the statement is beyond dispute, but it is a piece of evidence which merits consideration. In any case, the name cannot be less acceptable than that of Vesalius.



28.—C. 1760. By J. E. NILSON
After a Drawing by G. M. Kraus, based
upon the Engraving by de Bry



24.—1660. By JAN VAN TROYEN
After the Picture by Titian in the Pitti
Gallery



26.—Early 17th Century. Line En-
graving, based on reversed plate (No. 5)
for a Volume of Portraits by PHILIPP
GALLE

A further point of interest is to be found in the fact that in the picture of the interior of the Archduke Leopold William's picture-gallery in Brussels (and now in the Museum in that city), painted by Teniers, this portrait is reproduced in the upper row of paintings close to the ceiling, next to a sculptured relief. It is therefore more than likely that Troyen executed this engraving under the eye of the great Flemish master himself.*

25. 1660. JAN VAN TROYEN.

Line-engraving. (Quarto).

Inscription : *I. van Kalker p.—J. Troijen s.*

Dr. James Moores Ball reproduced this engraving in his book,† to which we have already had occasion to refer, as being regarded as a portrait of Vesalius. Beneath the print appears, in printer's type :

“ANDREAS VESALIUS (from an old copperplate engraving).”

This is no other than the engraving executed after Moroni's picture, No. 217, in the Vienna Museum—of which we have spoken in the section of “Painted Portraits” and of which a reproduction is here given. We have said that it is included in one of Teniers's pictures of the interior of the Archduke Leopold William's Gallery in Brussels.

We are not clear as to Dr. Ball's reasons for accepting the painting as a portrait of Vesalius ; but out of respect for his opinion, and consequently on his responsibility, we introduce mention of it here. Perhaps he was influenced in forming his view by the name of “I. Van Kalker.” With regard to the picture, my own opinion has already been

* It was engraved for —“*Theatre des Peintures de David Teniers . . . auquel sont représentés les desseins tracés de sa main et gravés en cnière par ses soins, sur les originanx Italiens que le ser^{me} Archiduc a assemblé en son Cabinet de la Cour de Bruxelles.* (Brussels, 1660 folio). Published also as *El Teatre de Pinturas* (1660) and a later edition—*Theatrum Pictorium* (Antverpiae, apud Jac. Peeters, 1684) with 246 plates.

The engravings were for the most part done by Troyen, Lucas Vosterman the Younger, Van Hoy, etc. The majority of the pictures figuring in the work are in the (“Imperial”) State Gallery in Vienna. But a few of them, including the picture described above, are in Brussels and elsewhere. The reference in the title to the paintings being by Teniers signifies that the engravings were made not from the original works but from the long series of small copies of them executed for the purpose by the brilliant artist-curator of the Gallery. This large collection passed into the Marlborough Gallery and was purchased, at its dispersal, by the late Mr. Charles Davis of Bond Street and exhibited in his gallery from which the constituent pictures were ultimately bought by numerous private collectors.

† *Andreas Vesalius, the Reformer of Anatomy*, by James Moores Ball M.D., Saint Louis, Medical Science Press, 1910.

expressed. It may be added, in conclusion, that in the engraving the figure is reversed, and that in execution it is curiously heavy, and a poor example of its school.

26. 17th Century. ANONYMOUS.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{16}$ in. (10.5 cm. \times 7.7 cm.).

Inscription : above, on the engraved background — *Andreas Vëssalius* [sic] 32.

Vesalius is here directed to the right, head and shoulder only. The resemblance is fairly good, especially in the shape of the nose. The expression is gentle and amiable, and the gaze soft and tired ; nevertheless as a portrait it is acceptable, and it is well engraved in a manner very personal to the artist.

27. 17th Century. L. VOSTERMAN the Younger (c. 1600/08—1675 [?]. Flemish School.)

Line-engraving.

Engraved after the so-called portrait of Vesalius by Titian in the Pitti Palace at Florence. It is a rare print, which we have not yet met with ; nor, as far as can be discovered, has it ever been published in any collection of the anatomist's portraits.

28. c. 1760 (?). JOANN ESEJAS NILSON.

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : of the plate—5 in. by 3 in. (12.5 cm. \times 7.5 cm.).

Of the oval containing the portrait— $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.3 cm. \times 6.3 cm.).

Inscription : on a *cartouche* above the oval, but within the field of the plate—Andreas Vesalius.

In the margin—*G. M. Kraus del. J. E. Nilson scul.*

The drawing by Kraus is a free copy of de Bry's engraving after the *Fabrica* Woodcut.

Vesalius is represented turning to the right, the head shown in three-quarter view. The bust is within an oval set in an architectural border. Indeed, as an engraving the plate is good, but the face is poorly modelled, and the general effect is weak.

The character of the sitter is lost, in the main, through the modifications which have been introduced. The nose has been straightened and the form of it idealized; the mouth has been diminished in size, the lips are less full and have lost their firmness; the eyes are rounder, the eyebrows gently arched, and the beard is too thick and is rendered as a solid mass. The flowered pattern of the doublet has been suppressed. J. E. Nilson (1721-1788), who was both painter and engraver, was the Director of the Academy of Augsburg in 1769.* His collaborator in this plate was Georg Melchior Johann Kraus (1737-1806).

N.B.—There is a repetition of this plate, curiously alike in design and execution—indeed, it needs trained eyes to detect the differences—but the height is $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. (12.3 cm.) instead of 5 inches, while the width remains the same.

We now come to a group of six portraits done for various editions of Lavater.

29. 1781-1803. MORITZ STEINLA † (1791-1853 [? 8]. German School).

Line-engraving: no background.

Dimensions: Of the plate— $4\frac{3}{16}$ in. by $3\frac{9}{16}$ in. (10.6 cm. × 9 cm.);
of the bust—4 in. by $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. (10 cm. × 7.3 cm.).

Signed: *M. St. fec.*

Inscription: ANDREAS VESSALIUS [*sic*].

In this pleasing and skilfully engraved portrait based on the *Fabrica* Woodcut, Vesalius has been rendered younger and more elegant than there is any justification for, and some degree of force has consequently been sacrificed. This plate which was engraved for the French edition of Lavater ‡ is simple, and less elaborate in method than those that follow, and in effect approaches somewhat to etching in its use and arrangement of line. The expression of the face is at once dignified and gentle.

It is paged 148, and is headed: DIXIEME FRAGMENT REMARQUES; and below the appreciation begins: "*Vésal [sic] . . . Son portrait est digne de l'attention d'un Physiognomiste éclairé. . .*"

* See Winckler's *Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 590.

† "Steinla" is the pseudonym of Friedrich Moritz Müller, who was born at Steinlah, near Hildesheim, and who became professor at the Dresden Academy. Mr. Hind (*op. cit.*) gives his name as Johann Friederich Wilhelm Müller, but this appears to be doubtful.

‡ Published at The Hague, 1781—1803.

30. 19th Century. ANONYMOUS.

Lithograph : semi-outline.

Dimensions : $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.9 cm. \times 7 cm.).

Inscription : None ; unsigned. Above—*Tom. 6—Pl. 324.*

Steinla's engraving, last described, is the source of this lithograph done for a foreign edition of Lavater. Although greatly simplified it retains perfectly the characteristics of its original—wherefore it is not to be accepted as a faithful representation of the *Fabrica* portrait. The slight difference in dimensions is a mere matter of the actual plate ; the figures are of equal size.

31. 1789. ANONYMOUS (but by J. HEATH. 1787-9. British School).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : oval— $3\frac{9}{16}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9 cm. \times 7 cm.).

Inscription : top left corner—*Vol. II, p. 229.*

The English (Holcroft's) edition of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy**, more or less abridged, in which this little engraving appeared, was published in its full extent in the same year in which Dr. Henry Hunter's rival edition, next mentioned, began its issue. The rather depressing prolixity of the original work is here restrained, and the whole has been carefully revised. The author brings enthusiasm to the analysis of Vesalius's face : "I particularly recommend", he tells us, "the study of the countenance to the physiognomist . . . How seldom do we meet such firm decisive precision ; such penetrating eyes ; a nose like this, which, considered abstractedly, so denotes ripe, masculine understanding, or rather a sound mind . . ." and so on throughout the paragraph.

This engraving, in pure line with dotted passages, is even more delicate in technique than those which either Steinla, or Holloway (next to be considered) produced for the French and English editions of the same work. It is based on Wandelaar's plate, and it suffers from the same defect—the relative smallness of the upper part of the head. It adds another fault, the exaggeration of the protuberance of the cheek-

* *Essays on Physiognomy ; for the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind, written in the German Language by J. C. Lavater, and translated into English by Thomas Holcroft. Illustrated by 360 engravings. London : Printed by G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row. MDCCCLXXXIX. [In three Vols., 8vo, 1787-1789. This edition contains the latest revisions by the author assisted by his friend J. M. Armbruster, 1786.]*



29.—1781. By M. STEINLA

For the French Edition of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy*
(The Hague, 1781-1803)

See p. 171



31.—1787. By J. HEATH

For T. Holcroft's English Edition of Lavater
(1787-1789)

See p. 172

REMARKS.



34.—1792. By T. HOLLOWAY

For Dr. H. Hunter's English Edition of Lavater
(1789-1798)

See p. 174



32.—1850 (1787). By J. HEATH

Modification of the Plate of 1787 for the
Sixth Edition of Holcroft's Lavater

See p. 173

bone—the effect of which is apparently to reduce the width of the forehead.

Vesalius is represented directed to the left; it is a bust piece. His gaze is full of dignity, firmness, serenity, amiability, and tenderness, skilfully combined; but of his prevailing qualities of strength, vigour, and combativeness there is not a trace. Resemblance suffers, in consequence, in high degree from the absence of any indication of his dominating characteristic.

32. 1850 (1787). [J. HEATH.] Same plate modified.

Dimensions: Rectangle— $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.5 cm. × 6 cm.).

Inscription: In top right corner—*Plate XLIV*. Beneath the portrait—VESALIUS.

The oval has been transformed into a rectangle mainly by the addition of work on the lower part of the bust, as is very apparent. The plate is somewhat worn, so that it has suffered in respect of force and colour but not in quality or delicacy. It was published, sixty-one years after its original issue, in the sixth edition of the same work.*

33. 19th Century. T. MEDLAND.

Aquatint (or “mixed”).

Dimensions: Oval— $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (10 cm. × 8 cm.); worked surface— $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (9.3 cm. × 7.2 cm.).

Inscription: *Titian Pinxt. T. Medland Sculp^t*

VESALIUS.

Born at Brussels, 1514. Died at Zaute, 1564.

“In my opinion he was one of the greatest men that ever lived.”

PORTAL: *Hist. de l'Anatomie.*

“He discovered a new world before he attained the age of twenty-eight.”

SENAC: *Tract du Cœur*. †

The bust of Vesalius is shown directed to the right. The engraving, which is a variant of that by Heath of 1789 (described above) is very

* Published by W. Tegg & Co., 1850.

† *Traité de la structure du Cœur*, 1748, and later editions.

well done, but faint and rather weak ; it was produced for an edition of Lavater.

34. 1792. THOMAS HOLLOWAY (1748-1827 British School).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. (10.5 cm. \times 9.8 cm.).

Inscription : Above, in printer's type—REMARKS ;
below, engraved script—*T. Holloway sculp.*

The essential importance and interest of this plate lie in the fact that Lavater himself caused it to be engraved for the illustration of his favourite English edition of his great work.*

Vesalius, invested by Art with a beauty beyond that with which Nature endowed him, is shown, bust length, directed three-quarters towards the right. His expression has firmness, calm, and sweetness, without the admirable aggressiveness and obstinacy displayed in the *Fabrica* Woodcut. The nose is shorter and less tilted, and the mouth less firm. The bushy whiskers grow from no higher than the jaw. Such being Lavater's Vesalius—a long way from Calcar's—how can we accept without some reserve his deductions from a "sugared" premiss? Yet it may be believed that it was not without design that he caused this portrait, based upon Wandelaar's rendering of it, to be so "beautified"—for the plate, in this instance also, is printed as a head-piece to his physiognomical study of Vesalius on whom he has lavished praise and enlightened appreciation (Vol. 2, p. 165). This tribute, from which we have already quoted, ends as follows: "Whenever I view this face, I feel anew how peculiar is the pleasure of contemplating a great man ; or even the image of a great man. Can there be a more sublime, a more godlike enjoyment, than that of understanding a noble human countenance?"

Lavater's rapture is in part to be accounted for by the fact of his gratitude to the anatomist for several illustrations of skulls which he borrowed from the *Fabrica* in order to base upon them certain of his biological arguments.

* *Essays on Physiognomy, designed to Promote the Knowledge and Love of Mankind*, by John Caspar Lavater, Citizen of Zurich, and Minister of the Gospel. Illustrated by more than eight hundred engravings, accurately copied, and some duplicates added from Originals. Executed by, or under the inspection of, Thomas Holloway. Translated from the French by Henry Hunter, D.D., Minister of the Scots Church, London Wall. God created man in his own image. London : printed for John Murray, No. 32, Fleet Street : H. Hunter, D.D., Bethnal Green Road ; and T. Holloway, No. 11, Bache's Row, Hoxton, MDCCXCII."

[Vol. 2. The work is in 5 vols., in 41 parts, royal 4to. H. Fuseli, R.A., collaborated as supervisor of the engraving of the plates. Date of the completed edition, 1789—1798.]

It should be stated that the first, a German, edition of Lavater's work, which appeared serially from 1774 to 1778, did not contain this portrait of Vesalius, nor had it a place in the two volumes of illustrations,* the one by Luffmann, and the other entitled: *Studien für Künstler, Kunstfreunde und Physiognomiker von J. C. Lavater. Blatt. (Auszug aus J. C. Lavater's grossem physiognomischen Werke)*. Schwab Hall, F. F. Haspel'sche Buch und Kunsthandlung.

35. Late 18th Century. [CHARLES PAUL LANDON (direxit).]

Outline engraving (on copper).

Dimensions: outer border—5 in. by 3 in. (12.7 cm. × 7.5 cm.);
inner border— $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. (9.5 cm. × 5.5 cm.);
portrait— $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 2 in. (6.5 cm. × 5 cm.).

Inscription: VÉSAL [*sic*] N. pinxt . . . Landon dirext

The artist "N." followed the *Fabrica* portrait, but as Philipp Galle, de Bry, and others had done, he turned the figure of Vesalius to the left, and exaggerated the curliness of the hair.

The inscription, "Landon direxit," shows that Landon, historical painter and "conservateur," or Keeper, of the Louvre Museum, was not the actual engraver. He was the author or compiler of several books on art and supervised the production of illustrative plates in which, as a rule, the engravers' names are rigorously suppressed. His most noteworthy work was the *Galerie historique des Hommes les plus Célèbres* (in 13 vols., 1805-1811), from which Vesalius could not with justice be omitted. This portrait appears in the sectional *Histoire des Pays Bas* (XLVIII, page 306). Some of the portraits, equally in "outline," in the sectional *Histoire d'Angleterre* were "drawn" by George Vertue but, as usual, without the engraver's name. There is no evidence here of Vertue's skilful graver.

36. 1825-1828. GOTTFRIED (GODEFROY) ENGELMANN (1788-1839. German School).

Lithograph. (After Pierre Roche Vignerou).

Dimensions: of the work only— $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. (21 cm. × 20 cm.).

Inscription: ANDRÉ VÉSALE. | *Vignerou del^t* . . . *Lith de Engelmann.*

[In another edition the name of Vignerou is suppressed; in the smaller issue, that of Engelmann also.]

* We speak of the volumes in the British Museum Library.

There are three states of this lithograph—two of them in folio, the third in quarto. Of the former, one is with and one without a tone background.

This plate is commonly spoken of as by Vignerou, who was painter and lithographer as well (1789-1872), as the original drawing is by him; but following our more convenient system of cataloguing by the engraver's name it is here entered under that of the draughtsman on the stone. It originally appeared in Vignerou's series, *Médecins et Chirurgiens anciens*. (Paris.)

This important lithograph is copied from de Bry's line-engraving—the hand with its *hamulus* being dispensed with. The light tone of the hair, contrasting with the dark of the beard, is unduly insisted upon. De Bry's comparative failure in the matter of resemblance is here underlined. In the later edition, printed from the tired stone, the hair has become darkened and Vesalius is endowed with the complexion of a mulatto.

Monsieur Van Bastelaer, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes, at Brussels, writes to me concerning the work for which the lithograph was made: "The Bibliothèque royale possesses an incomplete copy of the work (7 parts out of the full 10) but without a printed title-page. Its manuscript title is: '*Galerie médicale dessinée et lithographiée . . . avec notices biographiques et littéraires par T. C. Doiu, Paris, Engelmann, 1825-1828.*' It is an octavo. This is evidently the book mentioned, for it contains the lithographs by Vignerou, among which is the portrait of Vesalius."

This represents, therefore, a fourth state, or issue, the size of the paper being greatly reduced to serve the purpose of so small a *format*.

37. 1833. J. J. W. DES HAUVENTS (French School).

Steel engraving (line and stipple).

Dimensions: of the engraved surface (vignetted)— $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.
(8 cm. × 7 cm.).

Signature: *J. J. W. des Hauvents*.

Inscription: VESALE [*sic*].

This plate, very delicately engraved by a masterly hand, was produced for the well-known work, *Portraits et Histoire des Hommes Utiles* (first series, Franklin section, 1833—50 plates), by the *Société Moutyon et Franklin* (*Première Collection de Ceut Portraits*), of which the complete



36.—1825. By G. ENGELMANN
Lithograph from a Drawing by P. R. Vignerou
(See p. 175)



45.—First half of the 19th Century, By J. J.
DE LOOSE
Original Lithograph
(See p. 181)



49.—19th Century. By F. LENTZE
Lithograph, from a Steel Engraving
(See p. 183)



46.—19th Century. Book-plate by F. S.
Lithograph, based upon that of de Loose ;
reversed
(See p. 181)



37.—1833. By J. J. W. DES HAUVENTS
Steel Engraving, after the Picture in the
Académie de Médecine, Paris, for *Portraits*
et *Histoire des Hommes Utiles*



1848. By W. BROWN
Wood Engraving after Schaeplkens, from
Les Belges Illustres
(See p. 186)



39.—1837. By CH. ONGHENA
Steel Engraving after Wandelaar, for *Essai*
sur *l'Histoire de la Médecine Belge*
(See p. 178)

Vesale



work was published in Paris in 1836. It faces a short biography by P. J. Manec.

The engraving is a free rendering of the picture in the possession of the Académie de Médecine de Paris (*q.v.*); but while the painting represents the sitter three-quarter length this representation is scarcely half-length. The force and character of the original have wholly disappeared in this translation by the graver: and the air of authority so marked in the picture is as much beyond the engraver's powers of realization as the face itself. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the painting has never been otherwise reproduced—until Dr. Camus and Professor Gley rendered us the service of having it photographed for this work—this little engraving has for the past four-score years and more enjoyed a wide, though scarcely deserved, reputation. For this reason, the real character and significance of the picture have been understood by none save the relatively few who have examined it.

38. 1835. JAN (JOHANNIS) PIETER DE FREY (*c.* 1770-1834. Dutch School).

Lithograph. (Folio).

Dimensions of the work: (without inscription)—7 in. square
(17.7 cm. × 17.7 cm.).

Inscription: *Lith. de Frey A^r. Maurin*
1835

ANDREAS VESALIUS

This capital lithograph represents Vesalius three-quarter length directed to the left, the eyes looking over the spectator's right shoulder. There is a fairly successful effort at securing a close resemblance to the *Fabrica* portrait. The shape of the head is approximately given; but the face and mouth are too narrow, and the ear is too small and is placed too low down. The dress, so far as the style is concerned, adheres to the original. The draughtsmanship and the technique are alike good.

Another lithograph from the drawing of Maurin was produced by "Gregoire et Dereux à Paris," and published by "Rosselin, suc^r. de M^{me}. Delpech."

39. 1837 CHARLES ONGHENA (1806-1886. Belgian School).

Steel engraving.

Dimensions : with the frame-border— $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{16}$ in. (15·8 cm. × 10·6 cm.);

of the portrait (vignetted)— $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8 cm. × 6·3 cm.).

Inscription : on the field in Gothic lettering, **Vesale** [*sic*]; below—CH. ONGHENA SC.


This representation of Vesalius, half length, turned to the right with his right arm hanging down (no hand showing) professes to be after Wandelaar's engraving from the *Fabrica* Woodcut; yet it takes liberties in details. The engraving is excellent and the resemblance fairly well secured.

The plate was used as a frontispiece to the book by C. Broeckx : *Essai sur l'histoire de la Médecine Belge, avant le XIX^e siècle* (Leroux; Gand, Bruxelles et Mons. 1837. Large 8vo.). To this volume Onghena also contributed portraits of Van Helmont, Rega, and Palfyn, worthy successors to Vesalius in medical science in Belgium.

40. 19th Century. HENRI VANDERHAERT (1794-1846. Belgian School).

Lithograph.

This portrait of Vesalius was drawn on stone for the *Précis de l'Histoire de l'Anatomie*, published at Brussels. The present writer has not succeeded in examining a copy of the work, the first edition of which appears to have been issued without plates. The copy of the book in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels is unillustrated. That at Padua, in the University Library, has the plates, but it is probable that they have been inserted from a later edition.

41. 19th Century. "V.D." ().

Line engraving (semi-outline).

Dimensions : of the plate— $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in. (11·5 cm. × 7·5 cm.); of the work—2 in. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (5 cm. × 3·5 cm.).

Signature : Monogram *ut supra*.

Inscription : below, in quasi-gothic characters **Vesale** [*sic*].

Little resemblance is to be traced in this little plate to the *Fabrica* Woodcut; as a portrait, therefore, it is worthless. It is a rare print; an



43.—1841. By CH. ONGHENA
For *Études sur André Vésale . . .*, by Ad. Burggraeve



42.—1838-1840. By W. HOLL the Younger
Engraved on steel from the Picture in the Royal College of
Physicians, for Dr. T. J. Pettigrew's *Medical Portrait Gallery*

impression of it is to be found in the Cabinet des Estampes in Brussels (Reg. No. 49799).

42. 1838-1840. W. HOLL (the Younger. 1807-1874. British School).

Steel engraving (line and stipple).

Dimensions : $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{9}{16}$ in. (11.2 cm. \times 9 cm.)

Inscription : JOHN DE CALCAR W. HOLL

ANDREAS VESALIUS.

FISHER, SON & CO LONDON & PARIS.

Engraved after the picture attributed to Calcar, at the Royal College of Physicians, in London, this plate is an admirable specimen of the art of steel-plate engraving. It was done for Dr. T. J. Pettigrew's *Medical Portrait Gallery*, published in 1840 (4to), where it appears in the second volume, No. 15.*

We have already referred to it and to its departures from its original when dealing with the picture itself (*q.v.*), and pointed out the "improvements" with which the clever engraver indulged himself. W. Holl—a member of a family of book-plate engravers—was one of the most able and most industrious of all the practitioners of his day.

The engraving represents Vesalius, as he is shown in the picture, rather more than half-length, and gives us a fairly accurate reproduction. But as the inscription which appears on the painting is omitted from the engraving, we are left to enquire whether the step taken is owing to artistic considerations or whether it is meant to imply some suspicion of its genuineness, or of its truth, or, again, as to the period at which it was added. Why did a translator-engraver, as careful and conscientious as we know Holl to have been, ignore an item of evidence so interesting and valuable? We need not dwell again on the failure of the artist in matters of detail; but it must be repeated that he has missed the vivacity and life-likeness of the original in respect of the forms, although—to do him justice—his success in preserving the general aspect of the picture must be allowed.

43. 1841. CH. ONGHENA (*ut supra*).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions : $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.7 cm. \times 12 cm.)

Inscription : *Ch. Ongheua, Sc. Gand.* Below, in facsimile of the original signature—*And. Vesalius.*

* The first volume, dated 1838 (Fisher, Son and Co., Newgate Street, London), has for its frontispiece a portrait of *Æsculapius*.

In the top left corner on the field, the shield of Vesalius, with his device—three weasels, at speed.

The signature is reproduced from an autograph letter of Vesalius issued in the volume for which the engraving was made: *Études sur André Vésale, etc. . . par Ad. Burggraefe, Gand, 1841*. This plate was published also in the *Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique*, Vol. I. Brussels, 1848, with the inscription below: *Mémoire de l'Acadé Royale de médecine de Belgique*.

An excellent engraving, admirably realized, this plate is one of the most successful of all the reproductions of the *Fabrica* portraits; but the accessories of the dissection have been entirely omitted. Consequently, the left arm has been dropped, while the falling drapery at the back has been brought in to the body in a perpendicular line. It will also be seen that the artist has softened the frontal protuberances; he has lost the extreme vivacity of the glance, has reduced the spherical form of the skull, flattening it as well, shortened the nose and lengthened the ear, while adding a higher degree of facial beauty than Vesalius could rightly boast. Yet, in spite of all these defects, the portrait remains one of the most acceptable, as well as one of the most attractive, of all the likenesses of the anatomist. As has already been stated, this plate is said to have been done from an oil copy of the Woodcut executed by the engraver for the purpose.

(1882-1889). A reproduction of this plate in a slightly reduced size was used by the authorities in Brussels in connection with diplomas for educational purposes, etc. Another reproduction, worthy of the original, was made for the book by Louis Hymans: *Bruxelles à travers les Ages: Dédié avec la gracieuse autorisation de LL.AA.RR.Mgr. le Comte et Mme. la Comtesse de Flandre à son A.R. Mgr le Prince Bandojn*.* The engraving is in the first volume, p. 230.

44. 1842. L. PARADISI (Italian School).

Line-engraving.

Dimensions: $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 6 in. (20 cm. × 15 cm.)

Inscription: *Tiziano dip. A. Villa dis. L. Paradisi inc.*

ANDREA VESALIO.

The so-called portrait of Vesalius by Titian in the Pitti Palace at Florence is here delightfully rendered by Paradisi's skilful and

* "Par Louis Hymans, Bruxelles, Bruylan-Christophe et Cie, éditeurs, 33 rue Blaes."



44.—1842. By L. PARADISI
Engraved after the Picture by TIMIAN in the Pitti Gallery,
Florence



ALBERT

47.—1845. By J. C. DEMANNEZ
After the Picture by TIMIAN in the Pitti Gallery, Florence
(See p. 182)

sympathetic graver; yet, good as it is, it cannot claim equal excellence with that by Ver Cruys (*q.v.*) Moreover, it is reversed. It was published in the great album of engravings issued by Louis Bardi under the title of *Galerie du Palais Pitti*, Florence, 1842; it is plate 122 in the third volume.

45. 19th Century. J. J. DE LOOSE (1770-1849. Belgian School).
 Lithograph. (Large 8vo).
 Dimensions: of the vignетted portrait— $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13 cm. × 11 cm.).
 Signature: *De Loose*.
 Inscription: below—VESALIUS.

This is a well lithographed little plate, in the German manner ("fat," to use a technical term) and full of colour, but weak in expression, and as to resemblance a failure. It is clearly founded on de Boulonois's plate; but as the nose is wholly unlike, and the eyes are much too small, the frontal protuberances of the original flattened out and disregarded, the chief physiognomical characteristics of Vesalius are missed. He is represented directed towards the left, as might be expected in a copy made direct from another portrait. This plate is the original of that which follows, executed by the lithographer who signs with his initials "F. S."

46. 19th Century. F. S.
 Lithograph.
 Dimensions: of the vignетted portrait— $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. by 3 in. (8.5 cm. × 7.5 cm.).
 Signature: F. S.
 Inscription: VESALIUS.

This is a book-illustration, a reduced copy, as has been said of the lithograph by De Loose (*v. supra*), and reversed, whereby the figure is directed, correctly, to the right. The workmanship is good, but it is even feebler and less like, considered as a portrait, than the last. It might almost pass for a likeness of the late Sir Charles Dilke. It was produced for *Les Pharmaciens de Bruxelles* (8vo). The diminution of the mouth, the modifications in the hair and beard, the strange flattening of the nose, among numerous other and not less radical liberties, render

the plate worthless as a portrait. It may possibly have been intended for Vesalius's father, the apothecary Van Wesele.

47. 1845. JOSEPH CONRAD DEMANNEZ (or "Desmannez." Belgian School.)

Steel engraving.

Dimensions : $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $6\frac{7}{8}$ in. (21.5 cm. \times 17.5 cm.)

Inscription : *Titien del Demannez sc.*

VÉSALE.

[In the text the name is erroneously given as "Demanez."]

This is a bust piece—almost half-length—after the so-called portrait of Vesalius by Titian in the Pitti Palace in Florence. The plate is engraved with great dexterity, but hard and with little artistic quality ; yet it retains a good deal of the melancholic expression of the original : a merit which cannot be claimed by some more important translations of the picture.

The plate appeared in the *Album biographique des Belges célèbres, dédié à S.A.R. Mgr. le Duc de Brabant* (Bruxelles, J. Alph. Chabannes, éditeur, 1845. Large 4to).*

It appeared also in a reprint in pamphlet form, entitled simply "VÉSALE," a biographical study from the pen of J. de Mersseman.

48. 1848. J. SCHUBERT (1816-1885. Belgian School).

Lithograph.

Dimensions : Of the lithographic ground— $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (21 cm. \times 15.8 cm.).

Inscription : On the border—*Schubert lith. Imp. de Simonau VÉSALE.*

And, above—BELGIQUE COMMUNALE.

In this brilliant lithograph Vesalius is represented directed to the left. It is a copy of the *Fabrica* portrait, save that the left arm hangs down and the right is not seen—an arrangement adopted in

* It is worthy of note that the collaborators in this publication (which in another impression was entitled "*Album Historique*," etc.) the draughtsmen and engravers comprise a number of the artists here mentioned as having worked upon the iconography of Vesalius, Billoin, Demannez, Hamman, Numans, Onghena, Schaepekens, Schubert, Simonau fils, Vanderhaert, and P. Werreyd.

several of the portraits already described. The resemblance would be excellent if the face were rather larger, the lower lip less heavy, the ear smaller, the eyes more intelligent, and with more of the good-humour of the original and more energy in the modelling of the forehead. These deficiencies are common to a large proportion of the portraits of Vesalius, owing largely to the fact that engravers have copied from existing plates instead of from the Woodcut itself—thus combining in the new production the errors of their predecessors. Notwithstanding these faults the artist justifies in this lithograph the tribute paid to his talent by M. Max Rooses in his *Ars una Species mille : FLANDRES* (Paris, etc., 1913, p. 330).*

This plate appeared in *La Belgique Communale* (No. 1) in July, 1848, together with other illustrations to which we shall have to refer. The accompanying text is an *Essai historique sur la Vie et les Ecrits de Vésale*.

49. 19th Century. F. LENTZE.

Steel engraving; stippled and vignetted, and transferred to the lithographic stone.

Dimensions: 3 in. by 3 in. (7.5 cm. × 7.5 cm.).

Signature: *F. Leutze*—(in faint dotted letters).

Inscription: Lith. Inst. v. B. Kehse & Sohn. Magdeb. | ANDREAS
VESALIUS.

It is a pleasing little engraving based, though very freely, upon Wandelaar's rendering of the *Fabrica* portrait, but it succeeds even less than that in securing resemblance. Vesalius is represented nearly half-length directed slightly to the left, in a white doublet without the flowered pattern. Octavo size.

50. 19th Century. G. WENK.

Lithograph. (Quarto.)

Inscription: *Titianus* *Bologna*
Lit. G. Wenk.

This is another admirable lithograph, from Titian's "Vesalius," so-called, in the Pitti Palace in Florence. It was executed at the time when lithography had reached its highest excellence as a medium for

* The English edition is published by W. Heinemann.

the reproduction of pictures : it gives a better impression of the painting it renders than even the magnificent line-engraving by Ver Cruys.

I have seen copies bearing the further inscription : Pathologie, Ebelstrasse, 24.

51. 1883. E. BOCOURT (French School).

Etching.

Dimensions : 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. by 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (39 cm. × 23·8 cm.).

Inscription : G. Calcar, pinx. E. Bocourt, del. & sc. | ANDRÉ VÉSALÉ DE BRUXELLES | (Musée du Louvre) | L'Art.

Imp. A. Salmon.

The "proof before letters" bears only the inscription, in scratched letters :—*Calcar* E. Bocourt.

[This important reproduction was published in *L'Art* (Vol. II, p. 60) in 1883, accompanying an article by Henry Hymans, entitled : *Sur le tableau de Calcar.*]

The etching after the *Portrait d'un Jeune Homme* (formerly called *André Vésalé*) by Calcar in the Louvre is an excessively fine rendering, even if judged exclusively as a work of art. In workmanship it is carried to the utmost limit compatible with the rules of the art. The modelling is extremely subtle, the illumination is perfectly rendered and rich in effect, brilliant in the lights and velvety in the shadows. The plate is a striking example of mastery in translation by the etching method, when the artist has given equal, and entirely successful, attention to detail and *ensemble*. There is however the defect that the head and face have been slightly lengthened, and the contours here and there are not quite faithfully reproduced. In consequence of some accentuation in the drawing of the eyes and mouth the expression of contemplative sweetness, which is a main source of the picture's peculiar charm, is in a slight degree sacrificed ; the mouth, especially, has become harder and at the same time more sensual.* There must also be noted certain slight imperfections in the shape of the characters forming the inscription on the base of the column.

This, however, tells in no degree against the remarkable beauty of

* We see much the same thing in the painted copy at Christ Church, Oxford (*q.v.*) It must be taken as testimony of the subtlety and delicacy in the execution of the original work in the Louvre that even artists of high ability have failed to achieve complete success in reproducing their full beauty.



51.—1883. Etching by E. BOCOURT, after Calcar
From the Picture formerly entitled "André Vésale de Bruxelles" in the Louvre Museum
PARIS

(By permission of L'Art, Paris)



the plate, which must always give æsthetic pleasure to the beholder, whose delight in this respect is in no wise lessened by the knowledge that he is gazing at the portrait not of Vesalius at all, but of Melchior von Brauweiler—as has already been demonstrated.

* * It should be stated that, according to Mr. J. G. De Lint,* a plate representing Vesalius appears in *Opus Chronographicum orbis univèrsi van Petro Opmeero* (1611); and a circular copper-plate in the 1617 edition of the *Fabrica*. Mr. De Lint also records an engraving by C. Seghers; another by Zürcher, in *Galerie Choisie d'Hommes Célèbres* (1822); and a portrait by S. Coomans in *Histoire de la Belgique* (Gand, 1846).

IV.—TYPICAL ENGRAVINGS FROM PICTURES AND ILLUSTRATIVE DESIGNS

I.—PICTURES

(a) After the picture by HAMMAN (1849): "ANDRÉ VÉSALE".

1. MILSTER.— Lithograph. (Large folio).
2. A. MOUILLERON.— Lithograph. An admirable plate; $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $17\frac{3}{4}$ in. (32 cm. × 45 cm.).
[Published in Brussels, Paris, Düsseldorf, and London.]
3. Jh. S. SCHUBERT.— Lithograph. An equally good plate.
4. F. WIESENER.— Woodcut. Although a small block published in a duodecimo volume, it is a brilliant little engraving, done after Mouilleron's lithograph.
5. ANONYMOUS.— Woodcut, larger than the last, but as fine. After Mouilleron's plate; and published in Dr. Choulant's *Geschichte der anatomischen Abbildung*, 1852.

(b) After the picture by DE CAISNE: "LA BELGIQUE COURONNANT SES ENFANTS CÉLÈBRES."

- C. H. BILLOIN.— Lithograph: 26 in. by $21\frac{1}{4}$ in. (66 cm. × 54 cm.). This large plate was published with the simplified title: LES BELGES ILLUSTRES. Further inscription: *Peint par H. De Caisne. Lith. par Ch. Billoin.* (See Chapter III. "PICTURES").

* In his Commemorative pamphlet: *Iets over de Portretten van Vesalius.* Door J. G. De Lint. (Jan. 2, 1915). Amsterdam. 12 pp. 1915.

2.—ILLUSTRATIVE DESIGNS

(a) From *Les Belges Illustres*.^{*} (1848). Wood engravings.

1. W. BROWN.— After Schaepekens. Vesalius, full-length, standing. Leaning against the table-leg is a folio, with the title: *DE HUMANO CORPORE*. signed with monogram.
2. ANONYMOUS.— Vignette at the beginning of the text. In a colonnaded underground chamber, four men attired as monks surround a table near which Vesalius is seated; one of the monks points to a crucifix in his hand as if reproaching Vesalius with sacrilege.
3. ANONYMOUS.— *Vésale et son ami Gemma à Montfaucon*. (p. 49), A gallows from which hangs a skeleton; at the foot of the gallows, a second skeleton; Vesalius, to whom Gemma has "given a back," is endeavouring to detach the skeleton in order to carry it off.
[N.B.—A bare skeleton cannot remain suspended by a rope. According to Roth (p. 73) this alleged historical scene passed not at Montfaucon but at Louvain.]
4. W. BROWN.— after S. L[auters]. *Mort de Vésale* (p. 65). Alone, prone on the sea-shore, Vesalius is represented with an expression of pain and misery. There is no resemblance from the point of view of portraiture.
5. ANONYMOUS.— Vignette tailpiece, at the end of the text, representing an anatomy lesson. Vesalius is at a table on which lies a corpse, while his four companions evince the liveliest terror—one of them hurries off with a gesture of horror. This is in evident allusion to the absurd legend according to which, during his sojourn in Spain, Vesalius had dissected a living person. The falsity of this usually accepted story has been completely proved.

^{*} Vol. III, pp. 43-65. Essay by Ad. Burggraeve, Brussels, 1848. These engravings are good but not of the highest class.



Wood Engraving by F. WIESENER

From the Lithograph by A. Mouilleron after the Picture, "André Vésale," by
E. J. C. HAMMAN (1849)

(b) From the *Album Biographique des Belges Illustres* (1845).

Etching on steel. P. WERREYD (Belgian School).

Dimensions : of the plate— $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $6\frac{7}{8}$ in. (24 cm. \times 17.5 cm.) ;

Of the work, vignetted— $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17 cm. \times 13 cm.).

Signatures : *A. Numaus 1843* *P Werreyd f*

A rather fantastic composition, conventionally thrown together, representing the interior of a showy apartment furnished in the Belgian taste of the period (c. 1840). A carved high-backed chair, on which hang a cloak and a sword ; a table across which is carelessly thrown a heavy tablecloth, and on it, piled in deliberate confusion, a lamp, an hour-glass, a number of books of which one is open, revealing two pages (with a plate) from the *Fabrica* ; a skull, and inkstand. On the floor, three large folio volumes, one of which is inscribed, "TRATTATO DANATOMIA DA VESALE," [*sic*], together with a second skull and human bones, a scroll, a rather pantomimic saw, and the anatomist's own cap. Hung above the large chimney-piece—in order to convince the spectator to whom the room belongs—is a framed portrait of Vesalius, after no known original. The portrait is lightly sketched in, but sufficiently defined to enable us to identify the sitter. This plate, executed under the supervision of Calamatta, is one of the two illustrations to the Part devoted to "VÉSALE" in the work mentioned *supra*. It will be seen that as an etching—though undistinguished in technique—it gives evidence of skill in the artist, who has arrived at an effect of a line-engraving. It was executed two years before publication.

(c) By FERDINAND (French School), after R. de Moraine.

Steel engraving. Unsigned.

Dimensions : $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{16}$ in. (13.5 cm. \times 9.7 cm.).

Inscription : R. de Moraine del. Ferdinand sculp. | ANDRE VESALE [*sic*], MÉDECIN | Sa mort dans l'île de Zante. | Imp. de Mangeon 67 rue St Jacques Paris.

This is a highly capable little engraving of a scene similar to that represented in *Les Belges Illustres* [see *supra*, (a) 4.] It depicts Vesalius shipwrecked, lying half-naked on the shore amid rocks and breakers. In the background the wrecked ship is seen thrown high upon the beach. The scene is well imagined, but the head makes no pretence to likeness.

V.—ENGRAVINGS AFTER SCULPTURE

- (a) ANONYMOUS.— Lithograph, after the statue of Vesalius by Joseph Geefs, erected in the Place des Barricades, at Brussels. Done in outline.
 Dimensions : $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $5\frac{5}{8}$ in. (19·8 cm. × 14·2 cm.); of the statue only—
 3 in. (7·5 cm.).
 Inscription : STATUE DE VÉSALE | INAUGURÉE
 LE 31 DECEMBRE, 1847.

Published in 1848 as a plate in *La Belgique Communale*, where it faces column 794. It is simply but well drawn, and gives a satisfactory representation of the monument.

- (b) LOUIS TUERLINCK.—Woodcut after the statue of Vesalius by Joseph Geefs, in the Place des Barricades, at Brussels.
 Dimensions : $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (14·5 cm. × 6 cm.).
 Signature : Louis T. del.
 Inscription above : ANDRÉ VÉSALE.

This engraving, well and lightly cut, appeared as well in *La Belgique Communale*, in July, 1848, and also in *La Renaissance*, sheet XXI, Vol. 9, 1848, on the occasion of the statue being exhibited in the Brussels Salon of that year. It is engraved on a sheet along with the statue of Charles de Lorraine, by Jehotte.

VI.—ENGRAVINGS AFTER MEDALS.

These engravings are for the most part produced by Bate's process known as "mechanical engraving" introduced about the year 1840. They were done by an ingenious machine, the transferring tracing-needle working directly on the medals themselves. The engravings, produced on copper or steel, were transferred to the lithographic stone and then printed as ordinary lithographs. (For the following pieces, see Chapter VI—"PORTRAIT MEDALS").

1. (1851). After the medal engraved by Jouvenel in 1841 for the Académie royale de Médecine de Bruxelles.
 Inscription : H. BEY del. E. GUYOT, lith.
 From Guioth : Vol. I, plate XXII.

2. (1851). After the medal engraved by Léopold Wiener in 1847;
Obv. and *Rev.*
Inscription : H. BEY del. E. GUYOT, lith.
From Guioth : Vol. I, plate XXXVI.
 3. (1851). After the medal, engraved by Léopold and Jacques Wiener
in 1847. *Obv.* and *Rev.*
Inscription : H. BEY del. E. GUYOT, lith.
From Guioth : Vol. I, plate XXXVI.
 4. (1859). After the medal engraved by Jouvenel in 1846.
From Kluyskens, Vol. II.
 5. (1859). After the medal engraved by Léopold Wiener in 1847.
From Kluyskens, Vol. II.
- (For the works by Guioth and Kluyskens see the "BIBLIOGRAPHY
—MEDALS.")

CHAPTER V

SCULPTURE

I. SCULPTOR UNKNOWN.

LEMGO (Prussia).—On the façade of the Municipal Pharmacy (Ratsapotheke), a portion of the ancient Town Hall. Executed in, or about, the year 1612.

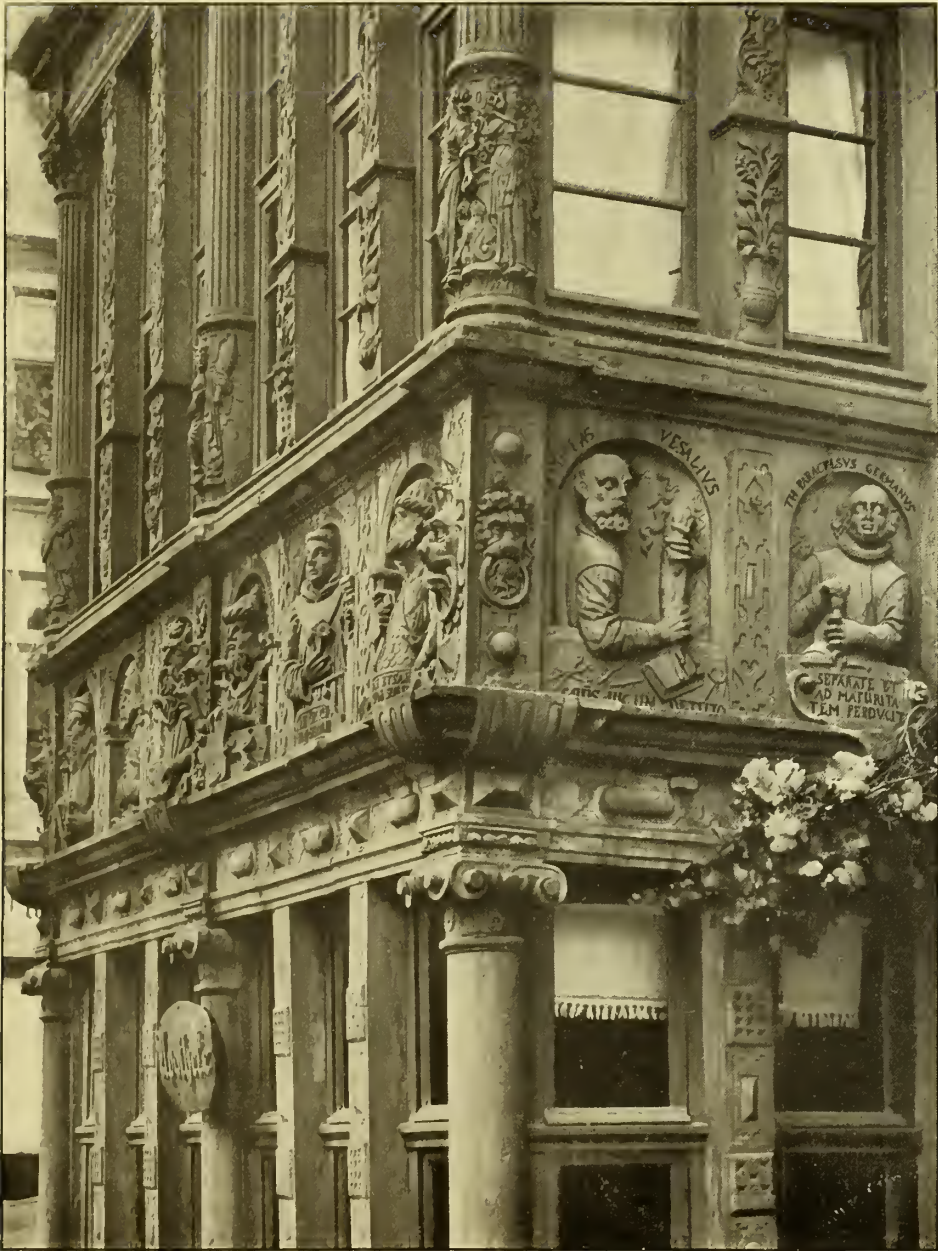
Dimensions: from upper to lower frieze— $29\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $20\frac{1}{2}$ in. (75 cm. × 52 cm.); height of the figure, from the top of the head to the elbow, $19\frac{1}{2}$ in. (49·5 cm.).

IN the year 1913 Dr. Arnold C. Klebs, of Montolivet (Ouchy) and of Washington, U.S.A., discovered in the course of his travels this sculptured portrait of Vesalius, the existence of which was hitherto known to no one interested in the anatomist and his works. Yet since the year 1612 or thereabouts it had been on daily exhibition, set before the eyes of the public at one of the leading buildings of the town. Dr. Klebs published his discovery in the same year in a *brochure* which was issued at Leipzig.* That very interesting study he has had the courtesy to place before me.

At the corner of a little street, on the Market Square of Lemgo—a town little known to travellers, situated between Münster and Hildesheim, in Prussia—there rises an extremely beautiful public hall, very picturesquely and richly decorated with sculptures. This is the ancient Town Hall, one wing of which is occupied by the Municipal Pharmacy. The date "1612" is inscribed on this building as being the year of its completion. The style of the decoration and of the architecture, so far as the façade is concerned, is characteristic of the period; but the fabric, with its two storeys, and a third in the high-pitched roof, is in part at least anterior to that date.† The decorative scheme and details of the

* See: Dr. Arnold C. Klebs: *Die Lemgoer Ratsapotheke. Historische Reiseskizze.* (Sep. Abdr. aus dem Archiv. für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft u. der Technik. Bd. V.) Leipzig, Verlag von F. C. W. Vogel, 1913.

† A letter of the Burgomasters and of the City Council of Lemgo (14 March, 1612-1613) proves that as far back as 1550 a municipal pharmacy was established in the town.



1612.—The Ratsapotheke at LEMGO (Prussia)
Showing the position of the Relief of Vesalius

(By permission of Dr. Arnold C. Klebs, owner of the copyright.)

so-called "Gothic-Renaissance" façade (there is little trace of Gothic) afford abundant evidence that this fine monument belongs to no subsequent period. The building itself sheltered the pharmacy, if not since its first construction, at least, and certainly, ever since it received its sculptural decoration.



1612. The Sculpture-Relief of the figure of Vesalius on the façade of the Ratsapotheke of Lemgo. By favour of Dr. Arnold C. Klebs.

Above the imposing row of six windows of the first storey is an inscription, paraphrased from the Apocrypha (Ecclesiasticus, xxxviii, 9, 10, 12, 1, 8), the text of which is as follows:—

WEN · DV · KRANK · BIST · SO · BITTE · DEN · HERN
 VND · LAS · AB · VON · SVNDEN · SO · WIRD · ER · DICH · GESVND · MACHEN
 DARNACH · LAS · DEN · ARTZ · ZV · DIR · DEN · DER · HOCHST · HAT · IN ·
 GESCHAFFE
 DIE · ARTZEI · KOMPT · VOM · HER · VD · DER · APOTHEKE
 BEREIT · SIE

The best proof of antiquity is to be found in the series of portraits, half-figure length in relief, set in arched recesses, which fill the space between the row of windows of the ground-floor and those of the storey above—forming a splendid frieze 2 feet 6 inches (75 cm.) in height along the whole façade—the first two and the last two being on the “return” of the building, on either side. These portraits, carved in stone, represent—Dioscorides, Aristotle, Galen, Rhazes, Hippocrates, Hermes, Trimegistus, Lulli, Geber, Vesalius, and Paracelsus.

The name of each man is inscribed above his half-length bust, and each is figured, so to say, in the rôle he played in life. One holds a book, another a shield bearing an explanatory inscription or device, the rest, any object best serving its emblematic purpose. In addition, under the bust-piece of each, save only that of Aristotle, there is carved a motto or an appropriate quotation. The last two of the series, on the “return” of the building, facing south where it meets the neighbouring house, are the busts of Vesalius and Paracelsus,* “that medical Ishmael” as R. A. Vaughan calls him, an ill-assorted pair. In the opinion of Dr. Klebs these are more highly finished than the rest; they certainly are among the best and most successful. Vesalius is represented under an arch which recalls the plate engraved by de Bry (1597-8). Above is the inscription: ANDREAS VESALIVS, and at the bottom of the composition the motto modified from the *Fabrica* portrait: OCIUS IVCUN ACTUTO.†

It must not be thought from our mention of de Bry's plate that the

* *Hours with the Mystics* (1856). It will be remembered that Oporinus acted as printer and publisher to both these authors.

† Dr. Klebs believes that the sculptor must have inspired himself from some engraving, now lost, after the *Fabrica* Woodcut. We have only met with one portrait—the doubtful drawing at Munich—as already recorded, in which the anatomist grasps the arm across the biceps, but that could not have provided the original. Dr. Klebs bases his opinion on certain others of these busts in relief of which he has identified the originals, these being servilely copied by the sculptor without a touch of originality. It is as likely, however, that the sculptor copied “servilely” not an engraving at all, but a drawing provided to him, which was adapted to this special purpose by the draughtsman.

artless sculptor owes anything to it in his rendering of the head and features of Vesalius: his debt to the *Fabrica* Woodcut—even though it be through an interpretation of it—is clear enough; and it is likely that the hypothetical drawing, excellent as it was for its purpose, was as artless as the sculpture. That is to say, *unif* as is the relief, it is marvellously well adapted for its purpose, and highly ingenious in the arrangement and composition of its essential parts.* Vesalius—as in the *Fabrica*, turned to the right, but his body cleverly shown in strict profile—seizes with his two hands the arm of a female corpse placed upright before him. This arm, which the anatomist holds by the wrist with his right hand—an interesting innovation—is not dissected; the body is draped, the shoulder bare.

Although the sculptor has failed in rendering the head and face of Vesalius in their true likeness, he has approached more nearly to the general effect, as regards the sentiment, of his model than many another more sophisticated artist among all the painters, engravers, and sculptors before him—and it may be said, after him as well. Here, Vesalius looks before him, his gaze fixed in the direction of his subject's head; his expression is grave and full of dignity. The nose is straight instead of tilted; it is, indeed, a Grecian nose, as in the picture in the Aula of the University at Bâle. The forehead recedes in direct contradiction of the *Fabrica* portrait, but the costume is copied as well as was possible to the sculptor; so, too, certain of the accessories. The table is shown in an original perspective: the face of it is absolutely perpendicular—an archaism not wholly accounted for by the fact that, being intended to be viewed from the street below, some straining of reality must be allowed. On—or more truly, adhering to—the table is a small book, symbolic of the folio *Fabrica* for which, in its true size, there is no room. The hand of the corpse rests upon it. Around it are grouped the surgical instruments which are figured in one of the engravings in the *Fabrica* (1543 edition and 1555 edition, p. 300)—a *hamulus*, a scalpel, pincers, and other objects. Dr. Klebs recognizes there two scalpels (*coltelli*), scissors (*forficula*), a *hamulus*, and a pair of pincers.

This work is not only in itself of high artistic interest, of all the more sincerity for its archaism, but it is of added importance by reason of its being the earliest sculptured representation of Vesalius of which we have knowledge.

* See the work by Dr. Eberhard David Hauber: *Bibliotheca acta, et scripta magica*, Lemgo, 1739, as a source-book of information which the interested reader may consult with advantage. Dr. Klebs bears witness to its value in respect of his own study.

We are indebted to Dr. Klebs for many of the particulars here given of his remarkable and important discovery; we owe to him also the excellent photograph (by Ohle, of Lemgo) which he has been so good as to place at our disposal.



The Faculté de Médecine,
MONTPELLIER,
Showing the Vestibule, with the bust of Vesalius.

2. ARTIST UNKNOWN.

MONTPELLIER.

Faculté de Médecine.

This bust belongs to a series of portraits of eminent surgeons and doctors which adorns the vestibule of the Faculté de Médecine at Montpellier—the city whose University Vesalius was long, but erroneously, believed to have attended as a student.* Even apart from this supposititious ground, he must be allowed to have an inherent right to the occupation of one of the pedestals.

This bust, which is the size of life, is officially described as being carved in stone; its appearance, however, rather suggests plaster coloured dark to match the other busts in the hall, which are of plaster. It is mounted on a base inscribed VÉSALE, and rests upon a plaster pedestal coloured pink and white in imitation of marble. In the illustration it is the furthest on the right.

The handling is rather rough, but it does not lack character. The modelling is deficient in refinement, without much æsthetic sentiment,

* See, A. Wauters: *Quelques mots sur André Vésale*. With regard to this now settled controversy it may be pointed out, in confirmation, that Astruc, in his *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier* (Paris, 1767. 4to) never even mentions the name of Vesalius. Yet we still find Vesalius's supposed attendance recorded in authoritative books of reference, such as *Chambers's Cyclopædia*, as well as on medals referred to *infra*.



1872. By L. TINANT
In the Académie royale de Médecine
BRUSSELS (See p. 108)



The Bust of Vesalius at the Faculté de Médecine
MONTPELLIER



By G. L. GODECHARLE
In the Bibliothèque royale, and in the Académie
royale de Médecine
BRUSSELS

yet, "lumpy" as it is, it is full of vigour and bears witness to the sculptor's skill. It is one of those works which gain on acquaintance. The resemblance is unsatisfactory. The artist was apparently familiar with the *Fabrica* Woodcut, but this work suggests that he leaned towards the engraving of Edme de Boulonois and the little plate of Léonard Gaultier. The head appears to be lengthened, but that is mainly an illusion resulting from the exaggerated size of the beard; if the skull seems too flat, it is owing rather to the undue height of the forehead. To the large and staring eyes is due the expression of vacuity and lack of intelligence. Apart from these points, we must recognize that the sculptor has studied his subject with care. The features reproduce the vigorous forms of the original; and, judged as a whole, the bust is by no means to be included among the least successful and least artistic of the sculptured representations of Vesalius.

3. ARTIST UNKNOWN.

BÂLE.

Vesalianum, of the University.

This bust is rather larger than life, and shows Vesalius with shoulders facing and the head directed towards the right. Inspired by some portrait or engraving which misrepresented in a curious degree the *Fabrica* Woodcut, this sculptured caricature presents Vesalius with an exaggeration of all his facial defects. The artist seems to have been afflicted with a peculiar talent for distortion. The face is lengthened, the frontal protuberances are enlarged to such a degree—especially when seen in profile—that they impart an absolutely grotesque appearance to the head; an unfortunate effect which is emphasized by the relative narrowness of the forehead. It is the head of a prize-fighter after a terrific encounter. The only importance that can be claimed for this bust is that it is a sculptured symbol of the anatomist in the institution which bears his name, receiving as much honour as it renders, in the city whence issued his masterpieces—the *Fabrica* and the *Epitome*.

4. GILLES LAMBERT GODECHARLE (1705-1835. Belgian School). BRUSSELS.

Bibliothèque royale, and Palais des Académies (Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique).

A life-size bust—executed in plaster, at least two examples of which are known to exist—31½ inches (80 cm.) in height, showing Vesalius

nearly half-length, without arms, the head slightly directed to the left.*

It is an admirable work of art executed by a master-hand, Godecharle, indeed, being deservedly held in the highest repute for the remarkable series of the celebrated men of Belgium with which, as it has been said, he "has annotated the history of his country." This portrait of Vesalius belongs to the series. It may, with reservations, be pronounced an excellent transcript in the round from the *Fabrica* Woodcut. The reservations comprise the reduction in the forehead's width whereby the expression of intellectual force so remarkable in the original is lessened; the exaggeration in the curls of the head—which after all is a sculptural convention, and may be forgiven; and the raising of the right eyebrow towards the temple instead of inclining downwards, whereby the resemblance is affected. But the whole reproduces with fidelity the great essentials of the original, with all his energy and potential force, above all that peculiarly Flemish air—that incisive look, that touch of humour playing about the mouth and eyes, and (may it be said?) that seeming lack of the highest refinement—which when hinted at at all in the other portraits of the same sitter, are sadly attenuated. Godecharle has understood his man perfectly, and we are made to feel that Vesalius, pretty much as he was, is before us.

5. JOSEPH GEEFS (1808-1885. Belgian School).

BRUSSELS: Place des Barricades.

Dimensions: 14 feet high (4 m. 25 cm.).

[This fine statue, cast in bronze by Trossaert-Rollandts,† was inaugurated on the 31st December, 1847—on the presumed anniversary of the birth of Vesalius.]

Vesalius is here represented as a national hero—as a man strong and tall, of impressive—almost majestic—dignity, authoritative in attitude and in gesture. This is truly an ideal effigy of the prince of anatomists—one of the finest works of Joseph Geefs.‡

In designing his statue Geefs has necessarily based himself, yet not very accurately, on the Woodcut in the *Fabrica*: the head and features

* It is No. 184 in the *Catalogue des Sculptures des Musées royaux*, by Henry Hymans.

† Possibly a descendant of him to whom Vesalius addressed his *Epistola . . . Chyna*.

‡ He must not be confounded with his brother, William, a sculptor of equal merit, and author of many statues, notably one of General Belliard, standing not far from that of Vesalius. For nearly thirty years the brothers Geefs dominated the Belgian School of sculpture.



1847.—By JOSEPH GEEFS
Statue in the Place des Barricades
BRUSSELS

reflect the standard portrait, which indeed lends itself well to this style of modelling. He received assistance as well from Godecharle's fine bust which has just been described (*see* No. 4). It must be admitted, however, that the Vesalius of Joseph Geefs suggests rather a noble Venetian or a Bohemian prince than a Flemish man of science. The long fur-trimmed robe sweeping the ground, the dainty pleated chemisette, the collar from which hangs the royal medal which he fingers, the long under-coat (for a doublet it can scarce be called), belong rather to a patrician of Venice than to a Flanders anatomist. And whereas Calcar shows him occupied at his business as a dissector-demonstrator, Geefs sets him forth as an intellectual monarch, holding his folio volume—his title to immortality—firmly with his left hand, while with the other, raised to his breast, he points to it with solemnity, as though the words were uttered: "By reason of these my labours in the cause of humanity and scientific truth, am I thus honoured by my Countrymen and by Posterity!"

On the bronze panel set in the front of the finely-designed pedestal—the work of the architect, Hector Goffart—is the inscription:—

ANDREÆ VESALIO
SCIENTIÆ ANATOMICÆ
PARENTI

—————
NATUS BRUXELL D.XXXI DEC. MDXIII
NAUFRAGUS IN JACINTHO
OBIT D.XV OCT. MDLXIII

On the corresponding panel in the back of the pedestal is a long inscription thus transcribed in *La Belgique Communale*:—*

AUSPICII LEOPOLD I
BELGARUM REGIS
È PUBLICO NEC NON PROVINCIÆ ET MUNICIPII
ARIIS DEPROMPTA IN SUMPTUM PECUNIA
UT ET PRIVATA UNVERSI MEDICORUM BELG.
ORDINIS CONLATIONE ERECTUM HOC MONUMENTUM ET DEDICATUM
D. XXXI DECEMB. ANN. MDCCCLVII

*The present writer took no copy of this inscription. He has reason to doubt its accuracy of detailed spelling and arrangement, seeing that the wording on the front face, here correctly given, is unjustifiably elaborated and re-arranged in the version printed in the periodical in question.

In *La Belgique Communale* (col. 794, 1848) there appears a detailed account* of the impressive ceremony when the statue was inaugurated in which there took part the members of the Académie royale de Médecine, of the Académie des Belles Lettres, of the Deputations and delegates from the Provinces and Communes, the Minister of the Interior, and the Bourgmestre and Echevins of the City of Brussels. Besides a report of the orations pronounced on this occasion the periodical prints two engravings—one of the statue, and the other, a general view.

[See among the "ENGRAVINGS AFTER SCULPTURE" (a) and (b), *supra*, the lithograph and wood-engraving after L. Tuerlinck; and among the "MEDALS," those of Léopold and Jacques Wiener, and the anonymous memorial medal, which bears no effigy.]

5^A. JOSEPH GEEFS.

An accurate reduction of the statue in bronzed plaster 20½ in. high—with its base, 21½ in. (52 cm.; 54·5 cm.)—was inscribed VÉSALE, and was issued in a considerable "edition" by J. Geruzet, 15 rue de l'Écuyer, Brussels; but owing to the fragility of the plaster few are said to have survived. Even the example in the possession of the Académie royale de Médecine is not intact.

6. L. TINANT. (Belgian School.)

BRUSSELS.

Palais des Académies : Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique.

This life-size marble bust was commissioned by the Belgian Government from Tinant in 1872 on his return from Paris after the Franco-Prussian War. The sculptor took as his chief authority the statue by Geefs, but apparently allowed himself to be influenced by the painted tricked-out portrait in the Aula in the Bâle University. The head is lengthened; the features have been so "beautified" that the face has lost vigour, character, and life such as characterize the bust by Godecharle, a work which was at his hand for reference. Geefs's details of attire—the pleated chemisette, fur-trimmed robe, coat, chain and medal, have all been annexed. The portrait on the medal, seen in profile to the right, is said to be intended for Charles-Quint; identification with Hippocrates would appear to be as appropriate a choice. The

* So conscientiously detailed, that we are gravely informed that the fine architectural base of the statue cost the sum of 10,556 francs 98 centimes !

result of Tinant's labours is neither convincing nor alluring: Vesalius resembles rather a scented and pomaded Court dandy, the pride of his hair-dresser, eager for the reception, than the serious scholar, the professor of Padua.

7. E. PICAULT.

Statuette—bronze.

Dimensions: 14½ in. in height (37 cm.); with the base—15¾ in. (40 cm.).

Signature: E. Picault.

Inscription: on the base—ANdrÉ VESALE [*sic*].

This statuette represents Vesalius erect holding a pen in his right hand, and in his left a clasped folio volume inscribed, ANATOMIA. He wears a sort of apron reaching to the knees and drawn in at the waist by a narrow buckled belt. To a chain around his breast a medal is suspended. Between his feet lie two books and a parchment sheet bearing in printers' lettering the legend: "DE CORPORIS HUMANI—*Fabrica Libri VII*—Basiliere MDLV"—which proves that the sculptor knew nothing of the first edition of the *Fabrica*.

The statuette is of unquestionable interest from an artistic point of view. The modelling is bold, nervous, masterly even, and the execution is admirable in its dexterity; the body is well set up and full of life. Resemblance to the sitter seems hardly to have troubled the artist; apparently what he mainly tried for was a vague reminiscence of the bust by Godecharle. The head is too narrow, too long, the cheeks too hollow, the hair in long straight locks is brushed forward. The figure is altogether too tall and too thin. We are therefore left to admire the work only for its undeniable sculptural beauty and for the unusual skill that called it into being.

This excellent example of modelling and craftsmanship is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. John Jaffé, of Nice.

8. ARTIST UNKNOWN.

Statuette—bronze.

Dimensions: 15¾ in. in height (40 cm.); with base—17½ in. (45 cm.).

Inscription: A. VÉZALE [*sic*]. No Signature.

Vesalius is represented standing, reading and turning over the pages of a book—a quarto—which he holds on his left hand. He wears an

ample, heavily draped robe, the pattern-design of which recalls that in the *Fabrica* Woodcut. Through the opening of the garment the right leg emerges, slightly bent at the knee. A solid frame of bushy hair, beard, and whiskers surrounds a small face with insignificant features, which bear but little resemblance to the original. The figure is too weak and thin, and the whole lacks strength and character. This statuette—which I have ascertained to have been produced about the year 1860—is one of a series published by a firm of art bronze-founders. It was to be sold as a pendant to the statuette of the great contemporary of Vesalius, Ambroise Paré.

The figure has claims to be considered seriously as a work of art; in spite of its defects, it is evident that the artist was a sculptor of talent. The example here produced was acquired by the Pharmacie Anglaise at Nice, where it was placed on permanent exhibition.

9. LETAMENDI.

MADRID. Statue Design.

In the Spanish review, *Revista Ibero-Americana de Ciencias Médicas*, there appeared a reproduction in collotype (or "Albertype")— $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. (18 cm. × 12.3 cm.)* of a sketch in pen-and-wash of a proposed statue-group of Vesalius, erected upon a plain base one-half the height of the group itself. This is shown as the crowning feature of a dome, or cupola, probably of a hospital or a medical school in Madrid—the city in which the great physician and surgeon had spent so epoch-making, yet so unhappy a time: as Jouvencel puts it in his earlier medal, a sojourn which he found "insupportable"—toned down in the next medal to "où il ne se plaisait point."† Here he received his monarch's unwavering favour and enlightened support; but here, also, he suffered the bitter jealousy of his Spanish colleagues in surgery and medicine, who hated as much as they admired him; and here, too, he worked in constant fear of the Inquisition. Nevertheless his life in Madrid constitutes one of the brilliant chapters in the history of medicine; and it was fitting that that city should pay its tribute to the genius who worked so ardently in its midst.

This portrait-group, so full of life and vigour, is finely imagined and well composed; the central idea being to set forth Vesalius as an

* The figure of Vesalius is here about 4 in. (10 cm.) in height.

† See *infra*, Chapter VI, "MEDALS."



7.—By E. PICAULT
Bronze Statuette
(By permission of Mr. John Jaffé, Nice)



8.—Sculptor Unknown
Bronze Statuette
At the Pharmacie Anglaise, Nice



ANDRÉ VÉSALE
Par M. J. Geefs.

By L. TUERLINCK
After the Statue by J. Geefs, Brussels
(See p. 188)



9.—Design by LETAMENDI for a Statue Group.
Published in *Revista Ibero-Americana de Ciencias Medicas*



anatomist and not as a physician. He stands gazing before him as if into the future, with an air of confidence, almost of defiance. At his right side is a stool whereon lie sheets of paper, with a scalpel upon them. His right foot is thrust forward; the left rests upon a pile of closed books—a token emblematic of the past. Upon the thigh of the raised leg rests the trunk of a corpse—(a body heavy in its lifelessness, with the head hanging back)—which the anatomist grasps and supports around the back and breast. It appears as if this portion of the body were intended to be shown dissected in the region of the heart: if so, it is probably an allusion to the now exploded legend of the living dissection of a man—a “noble”; according to another version, of a woman—a “princess.”

The arrangement is excellent, and the “line” of the whole is full of harmony and beauty. The contrast between the living form and the dead is admirably striking, and is eloquent in its significance. The chief technical fault is this—that the left leg and thigh of Vesalius appear to issue from an impossible point: they seem to need explanation. This, however, may be an error of the pen-sketch, to be corrected as the clay model was set up. Doubtless, in similar fashion, the figure of Vesalius would also be revised, and the unauthentic tallness and elegance, and the length and slimness of the face, would be modified in accordance with what is known of the powerful build of Vesalius and the squareness of his thick-set figure. And, finally, the impression would be removed that the anatomist has just retrieved the man from the waters in which he has been drowned: he certainly appears rather careless in his handling and treatment of the corpse.

CHAPTER VI

MEDALS

THE Bibliography of the Medal Section will be found *infra*, at the end of the General Bibliography.

For Engravings from Medals, *see* at end of Chapter IV ("ENGRAVINGS").

OBV. = Obverse of Medal
 REV. = Reverse
 AV. = Gold
 AR. = Silver
 Æ. = Bronze
 Mill. = Diameter in millimetres
 Fl. = Floruit

PORTRAIT MEDALS OF VESALIUS: SUMMARY.

(The following table is drawn up for the special information of Collectors.)

MEDALLIST	DIAMETER IN MILLIMETRES			DATE	ORDER	
	Actual (M.H.S.)	According to			According to Kluyskens Rudolphus	
		Kluyskens ¹	Rudolphus ²			
			Pollic ⁴			
1 MERLEN ...	28	28	—	AN. XII = 1804	8	10
2 MERLEN ...	30	30	(1½) = 38	AN. XII = 1804	7	9
3 BINFIELD ...	41	40	(1½) = 38	1820	2	1
4 LEFEVRE ...	40	40	(1½) = 38	1820	3	2
5 LEFEVRE ...	40	—	—	1820	—	—
6 LE BOULONNOIS ...	42.5	42.5	(1⅞) = 40	1820	6	3
7 MERCANDETI ...	48	50	(1⅞) = 48	c. 1820	9	11
8 SIMON ...	47	45	(1⅞) = 45	After 1820	1	4
9 JOUVENEL ...	47	45	(1½) = 38	c. 1846	4	5
10 JOUVENEL ...	34	30	(1⅞) = 27	c. 1846	5	8
11 JOUVENEL ...	50	—	—	1841 & 1846	—	—
12 JOUVENEL ...	56.5	—	—	1841 & 1846	—	—
13 JOUVENEL ⁵ ...	70	—	—	1841 & 1846	—	—
14 WIENER, J. & L. ...	30	30	(1⅞) = 27	1847	10	6
15 WIENER, L. ...	30	—	(1⅞) = 27	1847	—	7
16 ANONYMOUS ...	—	—	—	1847	11	12
17 VAN DER STAPPEN ...	50	—	—	1904	—	—
18 BONNETAIN ...	29	—	—	1914	—	—

¹ and ²; for reference to these works, see the Bibliography.

³ The "official" size is given variously as 56 and 57 mill. Two states of this medal.

⁴ Rudolphus gives his measurements in "pollic" = *pouces*, or inches, divided into twelfths of an inch.

⁵ Three states.

NOTE.—A glance at this table reveals the strange divergences to be found in the observations of these two specialists in regard both to one another and to the medals themselves. With the exception of No. 16 examples of all these medals are in the possession of the present writer, and have been carefully scrutinized by him.

PORTRAIT MEDALS

1.

MERLEN, JEAN BAPTISTE. (Fl. 1804—d. c. 1837. Franco-Dutch School.)

28 Mill. AR. and Æ. Struck. 1804.

[The edge of the silver medal is milled; owing to a smaller blank having been used for the bronze medal, that is not milled.]

OBVERSE—Bust to left; head almost full-face.

Legend: ANDREAS VESALIUS ANATOMICUS

Below: MERLEN F.

REVERSE—Within a wreath composed of two oak-branches joined together with a knot of ribbon—the

Legend: SOCIÉTÉ | DE | MÉDECINE | DE | BRUXELLES. | — | MESSIDOR | AN XII

[A late strike in pewter, after the die had become rusted, is in the British Museum. No other medal of Vesalius is in that Department.]*

This is a medal or *jeton de présence*. It is the earliest example bearing the effigy of Vesalius. As regards resemblance, the artist seems to have been inspired less by the portrait in the first edition of the *Fabrica*, than by the head seen in the title-page (the anatomy scene) of the second edition (1555). Or it may have been founded on the miniature copper-plate engraving of Léonard Gaultier executed at the opening of the seventeenth century.

The relief of the medal is but slight. The bust is poorly modelled and engraved. The whole is rather archaic in aspect; yet although so far deficient in artistic merit, the medal is not ineffective as decoration, it is as though the medallist had failed in an attempt to imitate work such as Leone Leoni's medal of Philippina Welzer.

(Consult the article: "Collections des Médailles de l'Empire Français et de l'Empereur Napoléon" in *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, Paris, 1840.)

In 1900 M. Edouard Van Den Broeck published a Study † giving

* "Jetons de présence de la Société de Médecine de Bruxelles, Messidor, an XII," by Ed. Van Ben Broeck, in *Rev. de Numismatique*. Bruxelles, 1900.

† No public medallic collection—not even that of the Cabinet de Médailles and in the Hôtel des Monnaies in Brussels—appears to possess anything like a complete series of the medals of Vesalius.

reasons for the belief that the date attributed to this medal in the *Trésor* (the 19th July, 1804) is intended to apply not to the striking of it but to the foundation—or rather to the reconstitution—of the Société de Médecine de Bruxelles for which the medal (or *jeton de présence*) was engraved. The actual date at which it was struck must therefore be somewhat later.

See also : Kluyskens, II, p. 577, and Rudolphus, p. 175.
[Kluyskens, No. 7.—Rudolphus, No. 9.]

2.

MERLEN. [*Ut supra.*]

30 Mill. AR. and Æ. Struck. Edge milled. 1804.
OBV.—Bust, in profile, to left.

Legend : ANDREAS VESALIUS ANATOMICUS

On the truncation of the arm : MERLEN. F

In the examples struck in copper, yellowed, the point after the F does not appear. The piece in my collection is only 29 mill. in diameter.

REV.—Within a wreath composed of two oak-branches joined together with a knot of ribbon—not the same *Rev.* as the last—the

Legend : SOCIÉTÉ | DE | MÉDECINE | DE | BRUXELLES | MESSIDOR | — | AN XII

This medal is also *jeton de présence*.

Relief slight. The profile is poorly realized from the three-quarter face in the woodcut in the *Fabrica*, and indifferently executed. The work technically considered has little artistic importance : the head is poorly constructed, poorly rendered, and poorly engraved : it is the work of a youthful artist.

See : Edouard Van Den Broek's Study, mentioned *supra*.

Also : H. C. L. Kluyskens : *Des Hommes Célèbres*, etc. Gand, II, p. 577. 1859.

„ „ *Numismatique Vésalienne*, c. 1872.

C. A. Rudolphus : *Numismata Virorum*, etc. Dantzig, 1862.

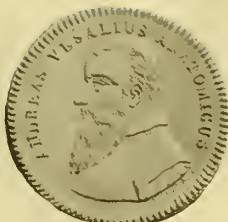
These pieces, according to Kluyskens, “are two rare medals among the few which were struck in Belgium during the French Revolution.” They are said to be the first medals by this artist known, and were produced for the Société de Médecine de Bruxelles at the same time as other *jetons* of the same sort : they give little promise of the remark-



1



1



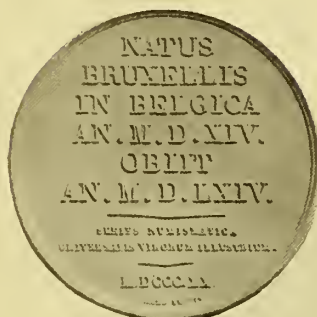
2



2



3



3



4



4



5



6



6

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. MERLEN (<i>Obv.</i>) | 1. MERLEN (<i>Rev.</i>) 1804 | 2. MERLEN (<i>Obv.</i>) | 2. MERLEN (<i>Rev.</i>) 1804 |
| 3. BINFIELD (<i>Obv.</i>) 1820 | | 3. BINFIELD (<i>Rev.</i>) | |
| 4. LEFEVRE (<i>Obv.</i>) 1820 | 4. LEFEVRE (<i>Rev.</i>) | 5. LEFEVRE (<i>Obv.</i>) 1820 | |
| 6. LE BOULONNOIS (<i>Obv.</i>) 1820 | | 6. LE BOULONNOIS (<i>Rev.</i>) | |



able ability which the medallist developed a few years later when he worked with considerable success as Assistant-Engraver in the London Mint.

[Kluyskens, No. 8.—Rudolphus, No. 10.]

3.

BINFIELD, W. (Fl. 1800—1824. British School.)

40 Mill. Æ. Struck. 1820.*

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to right.

Legend: ANDREAS VESALIUS

Below: W. BINFIELD F.

REV.—*Legend*: NATUS | BRUXELLIS | IN BELGICA | AN.M.D.XIV. | OBIIT |
AN.M.D.LXIV. | — | SERIES NUMISMATICA | UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM
ILLUSTRIUM | — | M.DCCC.XX. | DURAND EDIDIT

Like the three pieces that follow, this medal was struck by Amédée Durand who, in 1818, began the issue of the long series of historical medals which continued until 1846.

The head has little character and bears no resemblance either to the woodcut portrait in the *Fabrica* or to any of the painted portraits. The coat (which has nothing of the original doublet or *pourpoint* about it) is as modern in aspect as the head, with no suggestion of the sixteenth century; and the whole has the air of an anachronism in bronze. On the other hand, the execution is competent.

Binfield, of Birmingham, worked for Durand in Paris, for whom he produced a number of medals, including those of William Harvey and Lord Byron (1824). It was doubtless in consequence of Binfield's failure with this medal of Vesalius that Durand had two others engraved and struck by Lefèvre, and a third by Le Boulonois—not one of which can be called successful.

See C. A. Rudolphus: *Index Numismaticus*, pp. 123 & 124;
No. CCCXXXII—496.

[Kluyskens, No. 2.—Rudolphus, No. 1.]

* Kluyskens erroneously gives the date as 1810.

4.

LEFÈVRE. (Fl. 1800—1824. French School.)

40 Mill. Æ. Struck. 1820.

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to right.

Legend: ANDREAS VESALIUS*Below*: LEFEVRE

REV.—*Legend*: NATUS | BRUXELLIS | IN BELGICA | AN.M.D.XIV. | OBIIT | AN.M.D.LXIV
 |—| SERIES NUMISMATICA | UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM.
 |—| M.DCCC.XX. | DURAND EDIDIT

Although this *Reverse* reproduces the lettering of the previous medal (No. 3) it is not, as has been hitherto supposed, from the same die: there are slight variations.

This medal belongs to the Durand series, and is dated with the same year as Binfield's medal which it so closely resembles that it is in no wise superior to it. There is, indeed, even less fidelity in the reproduction of the features: the head is narrower and longer, the expression weaker, and the body is smaller. It is surprising that Kluyskens should have affirmed the identity of this medal with that which here precedes: it is, he says, "the same piece, with the name of Lefèvre instead of that of Binfield."* And yet Kluyskens had both medals in his cabinet!

It may be noted that in the first Part of *Numismata*, published in Bruges in 1846, is to be found the name of Lefèvre (Ernest-Charles), born at Courtrai in 1825. As the Durand series continued until 1846, there is here perhaps a clue as to the family, at least, of this medallist regarding whom no personal details seem to have been published.

See the medals Nos. 3, 5, and 6—by Binfield, Lefèvre, and Le Boulonois.

[Kluyskens, No. 3,—Rudolphus, No. 2.]

* *La Revue Numismatique Belge*, 5^e Série, t. VI.

5.

LEFÈVRE. (*Ut supra.*)

40 (or 41) Mill. Æ. Struck. 1820.

A variant of No. 4, not hitherto recognized.

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to right.

Legend : ANDREAS VESALIUS*Below* : LEFEVRE.

This name is in letters smaller than those in the preceding medal.

REV.—The same die as in No. 4.

At first sight one would take this *Obverse* to be the same as that in No. 4; nevertheless, it is a different die, with some analogy to that by Binfield (No. 3). The head and body are larger and wider; the hair is more abundant and, behind the head, the locks are differently arranged. The expression of the mouth is sadder, but in general effect there is nearer approach to the portrait in the *Fabrica*, although the medal still remains afar off it.

6.

LE BOULONNOIS. Fl. 1800—1824. (French School.)

42·5 Mill. Æ. Struck. 1820.

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to right.

Legend : ANDREAS VESALIUS*Below* : LE BOULONNOIS . F.

REV.—*Legend* : NATUS | BRUXELLIS | IN BELGICA | AN.M.D.XIV. | OBIIT | AN.M.D.LXIV.
 | — | SERIES NUMISMATICA | UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM
 | — | M.DCCC.XX. | DURAND EDIDIT

In Durand's Series. See Medals here, Nos. 3, 4, and 5, by Binfield and Lefèvre.

This, the fourth, attempt made by Durand to obtain a worthy medal of Vesalius did not win the success it merited. Le Boulonnois's work is better than Lefèvre's, but hardly surpasses that of Binfield. There is a suggestion, though a very slight one, of the portrait in the *Fabrica*, in giving more importance to the body and in representing the doublet with the traditional pattern upon it. But all three medallists appear to have taken the fatal course of going for their model to some indifferent modern presentment, instead of to the original.

[Kluyskens, No. 6.—Rudolphus, No. 3.]

7.

MERCANDETTI, TOMMASO (1758—1821. Italian School.)

48 Mill., 49 Mill., and 50 Mill. AR. and Æ. Struck. c. 1820.

[This medal was struck on blanks of various diameters and thicknesses. Kluyskens gives the diameter as 50 mill.; Rudolphus, as 48.]

OBV.—Vesalius, standing, robed in a toga, is dissecting a body the legs of which are covered with drapery. The corpse reclines on a draped bench in the open air under the shadow of the foliage of large trees. The head of Vesalius, which, as well as his person, is seen in profile, is copied from the Woodcut portrait in the *Fabrica*: minute as it is, it retains the general character of the original. The execution of the medal is good; and the whole is the most admirably conceived, and the most artistic, of all the earlier medals of Vesalius.

Legend, around the top: SEXCENTOS EXSECVIT* VT NATVRAM SCRVTARETVR

Signed on the exergue: · T · M · I ·

i.e. Tommaso Mercandetti inv.†

[Technically, no doubt, this face should be regarded as the Reverse; but for our purpose it is the more important of the two.]

REV.—A perspective view of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, at Rome.

Legend, above, in the field: NOSOCOMIVM

Below, on the truncated edge of the ground-line:

MERCANDETTI FECIT ROMA

On the exergue, the arms of the hospital—a crowned shield bearing the symbol of the Saint-Esprit and the double cross—from behind which spring, right and left, a branch of oak and one of laurel. Above them the words:

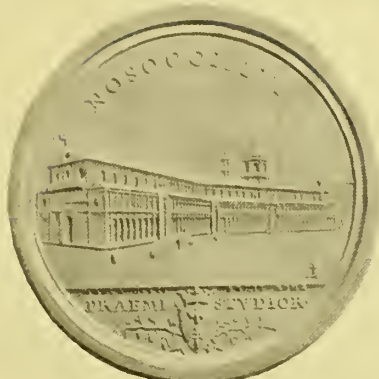
PRAEMIA STVDIOR·

* Kluyskens transcribes the word erroneously as EXSECUIT.

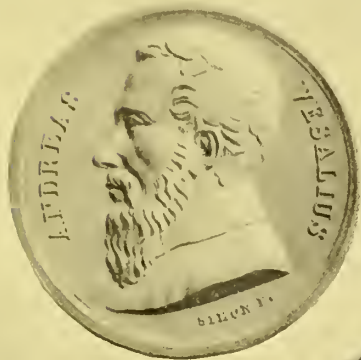
† All the writers, following Kluyskens, give these initials incorrectly as "T. M. T."



7



7



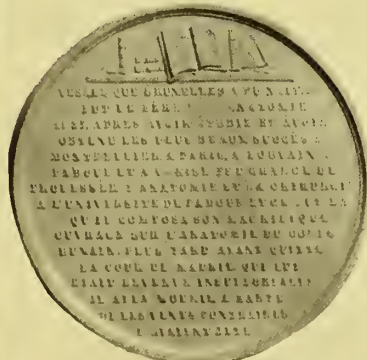
8



8



10



9



7. MERCANDETTI (*Obv.*) c. 1820

8. SIMON (*Obv.*) after 1820

9. JOUVENEL (*Obv.*) c. 1846

10. JOUVENEL (*Obv.*) c. 1846

7. MERCANDETTI (*Rev.*)

8. SIMON (*Rev.*)

9. JOUVENEL (*Rev.*)

10. JOUVENEL (*Rev.*)

"This medal," says Kluyskens, "was awarded to those students who distinguished themselves in anatomy and surgery in the Roman States . . . There is here a perfect resemblance to Vesalius." "Perfect resemblance" is an over-statement ; nevertheless, the portrait is acceptable.

[Kluyskens, No. 9.—Rudolphus, No. 11.]

It may be mentioned that in the year 1808 Mercandetti had produced his medal of Morgagni, with several variants of it.

8.

SIMON, JEAN HENRI. (1752-1834. Franco-Belgian School.)

47 Mill. Æ. after 1820.

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to left.

Legend : ANDREAS VESALIUS

Below : SIMON F

REV.—*Legend* : NATUS | BRUXELLIS | IN BELGICA | AN.M.D.XIV. | OBIIT |
AN.M.D.LXIV. | *

The medal is not badly executed ; the relief is high ; but the general aspect is modern, and the likeness is undiscoverable. It is evidently copied from the pieces by Lefèvre in the Durand series (Nos. 4 and 5) ; but it is rather larger. It belongs to the *Galerie métallique des hommes qui ont illustré les Pays-Bas* by Simon—a series which comprises a hundred pieces. The dies of 89 of them—including those of the Vesalius medal—are in the Museum of the Hôtel des Monnaies in Brussels.

See the Catalogue of the Museum—" *Poinçons et Matrices* "—by Alph. de Witt, p. 186.

[Kluyskens, No. 1—Rudolphus, No. 4.]

9.

JOUVENEL, ADOLPHE BAPTISTE. (1798-1867. Belgian School.)

47 Mill. Æ. Struck. c. 1841-1846.

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to left.

Legend: ANDRÉ VÉSALE NÉ EN 1514 MORT EN 1564.

Below: JOUVENEL

REV.—Above: an arrangement of books, one of which is open, inscribed across the two leaves:

DE CORPORIS | HUM. FABRICA | LIB. VII. BASIL | 1543

Below, the Legend, in sixteen lines:—

VESALE QUE BRUXELLES A VU NAÎTRE | FUT LE PÈRE DE L'ANATOMIE. |
 1537, APRÈS AVOIR ÉTUDIÉ ET AVOIR | OBTENU LES PLUS BEAUX
 SUCCÈS A | MONTPELLIER, A PARIS, A LOUVAIN A | PADOUE ET A
 VENISE, FUT CHARGÉ DE | PROFESSER L'ANATOMIE ET LA CHIRURGIE |
 A L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PADOUE ET CE FUT L'A QU'IL COMPOSA SON
 MAGNIFIQUE | OUVRAGE SUR L'ANATOMIE DU CORPS | HUMAIN. PLUS
 TARD AYANT QUITTÉ | LA COUR DE MADRID QUI LUI | ÉTAIT DEVENUE
 INSUPPORTABLE | IL ALLA MOURIR A ZANTE | OÙ LES VENTS
 CONTRAIRES | L'AVAIENT JETÉ.

(It has already been pointed out in this work that it is a mistake to suppose that Vesalius was at the University of Montpellier. The typographical errors and omissions in the above inscription are to be found in the medal itself.)

The head is fine, engraved in considerable relief, and is based on the Woodcut in the *Fabrica*, with only partial success. As regards resemblance, the nose is small and straight, and so differs from that in the portrait; as regards expression, there is a heaviness quite foreign to the original engraving which is marked by a singular vivacity. The fatness, lumpiness indeed, of the figure does not convey the idea of power on which the Woodcut insists. The dress is patterned more or less like that in the medallist's authority, but on a smaller scale.

This medal belongs to the series *Grands Hommes de Belgique*; the dies of twenty-five of the pieces are in the Museum of the Hôtel des Monnaies in Brussels.

See the Catalogue of the Museum by Alph. de Witte, p. 212.

[Kluyskens, No. 4. Rudolphus, No. 5].

10.

JOUVENEL, ADOLPHE BAPTISTE.

34 Mill. AR. gilt (*vermeil*). Struck. c. 1846.

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to left.

Legend : ANDRÉ VÉSALE NE [sic] EN 1514 MORT EN 1564

Below : JOUVENEL

REV.—*Legend* : IL FUT | LE PÈRE DE | L'ANATOMIE. 1537, APRÈS | AVOIR ÉTUDIÉ
 ET AVOIR | OBTENU LES PLUS BEAUX | SUCCÈS À MONTPELLIER, |
 À PARIS, À LOUVAIN, À PADOUE | ET À VENISE. IL PROFESSA
 L'ANATOMIE ET LA CHIRURGIE | À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PADOUE. | IL Y
 COMPOSA SON MAGNIFIQUE | OUVRAGE SUR L'ANATOMIE DU |
 CORPS HUMAIN. AYANT QUITTÉ | LA COUR DE MADRID OÙ IL |
 NE SE PLAISAIT POINT, IL | MOURUT À ZANTE OÙ | LES VENTS
 CONTRAIRES L'AVAIENT JETÉ.

This piece is a *jeton*.

It will be seen that several errors in the inscription of the preceding medal (No. 9) are here corrected, and the reference to Vesalius's sojourn at the Spanish Court is toned down. The resemblance to the portrait in the *Fabrica*, although not very successful, has been better realized. The aspect of the head, as well as the *euseuble*, is more completely rendered but is too grim in expression. The hair is curly; the beard also. The design of the doublet is too much emphasized. The relief is slight.

The dies of the *Obv.* and *Rev.* are in the Museum of the Hôtel des Monnaies at Brussels. (See the Catalogue of the Museum by Alph. de Witte, p. 213; and Kluyskens II, p. 272). The medal belongs to the Series, "*Histoire populaire et métallique des grands hommes de la Belgique*," of which twelve pieces are by Jouvenel. Alph. de Witte catalogues ten of them. Mr. Forrer, in his great "Dictionary of Medallists," states that Jouvenel and Constant Jehotte planned the issue between them of a *Galerie Numismatique des hommes les plus illustres de la Belgique*, but save for the twelve medals by Jouvenel and a few by Jehotte the scheme was abandoned.

[Kluyskens, No. 5. — Rudolphus, No. 8.]

11.

JOUVENEL, ADOLPHE BAPTISTE.

50 Mill. (The medallion of Vesalius 14 mill.).
AR., and Æ. Struck. 1841.

OBV.—Head of King Léopold I of Belgium, laureated, to right.

Legend : LEOPOLD PREMIER—ROI DES BELGES

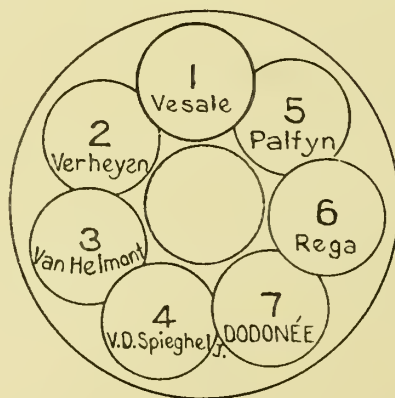
REV.—*Legend* : ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE MÉDECINE DE BELGIQUE
[and see *infra*.]

Below (between medallions 4 and 7) : J.

Seven medallions of celebrated Doctors of Medicine—each medallion 14 mill. in diameter—are arranged in a circle :

The Seven Medallions :—

1	AND. VESALE	1514
2	VERHEYEN	1648
3	VAN HELMONT	1577
4	V. D. SPIEGHEL	1578
5	PALFYN	1650
6	H. JOS. REGA	1690
7	R. DODONEE	1518



The portrait of Vesalius, which is the topmost, bust in profile, to left, is inscribed : AND. VESALE [*sic*] 1514. It is the same type, but reduced, as in the other medals by Jouvenel, Nos. 9 and 10, but the doublet is simplified and is without the pattern. In this medal, when struck for award to the student, the central circle is left blank for the insertion of the winner's name ; the ordinary pieces are inscribed :—

ARR. ROYAL | DU | 19 SEPT. 1841 | NOTHOMB | MINISTRE | DE | L'INTERIEUR

See Guioth : *Histoire Numismatique*, Pl. XXII, No. 53.

III



11



11



12



12



12A

11. JOUVENEL (*Obv.*) 1841 and 1846

12. JOUVENEL (*Obv.*) 1841 and 1846

12. JOUVENEL (*Rev.*)

11. JOUVENEL (*Rev.*)

12A. JOUVENEL (*Rev.*)

This medal was originally struck on a thin blank. When the striking was resumed, in 1846, for distribution as a prize-medal a thicker blank was adopted. The dies are in the Museum at the Hôtel des Monnaies at Brussels. (See the Catalogue of the Museum by Alph. de Witte, Nos. 61 and 62, p. 205.) M. Victor Tourneur (*Catalogne des Médailles du Royaume de Belgique*, 1911, No. 546, p. 160) describes it as the "Médaille de la Création de l'Académie royale de médecine de Belgique."

Thus, the 50 mill. medal (1841) is that of the Creation of the Academy ;

The 56.5 mill. medal (1841) is that of the Installation of the Academy ;

The 50 mill. medal (called 1846, but really 1841, like No. 10, but on a thick blank) is the prize-medal for successful students.

This piece is no longer used as the award ; the larger version—56 mill., next to be described—is employed for the purpose.

This *Obv.* with the name of Jouvénel suppressed, was adopted as the medal for the "Exposition des produits de l'industrie Belge."

Neither Kluyskens nor Rudolphus mentions this medal in his more important works ; but in the *Numismatique Vésalienne* of the former it is No. 14—"médaille de prix."

12.

JOUVENEL, ADOLPHE BAPTISTE.

56.5 Mill. [True size. Officially described as 56 and 57 ; by M. Victor Tourneur, as 57.] The medallion of Vesalius is 16 mill. in diameter. AR. and Æ. Struck. 1841.

OBV.—Head of King Léopold I. to left, not laureated.

Legend : LEOPOLD PREMIER ROI DES BELGES

Below the truncation of the head : JOUVENEL

REV.—*Legend* : ACADEMIE [*sic*] ROYALE DE MÉDECINE DE BELGIQUE

In the centre circle :

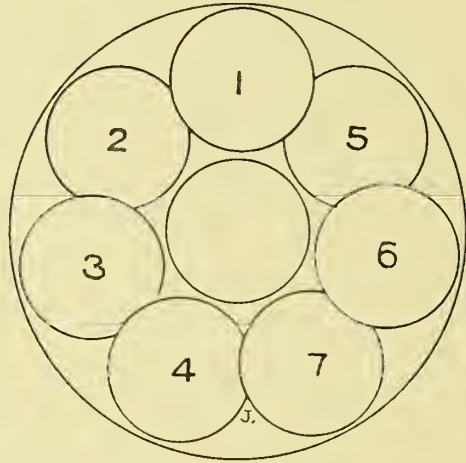
INSTALLÉE | LE | 26 SEPT 1841 | NOTHOMB | MINISTRE | DE | L'INTÉRIEUR

Below, between the portraits of Spieghele and Dodonée :

The seven medallions of celebrated Doctors of Medicine—each medallion 14 mill. in diameter—are arranged in a circle :—

The Seven Medallions

1	ANDRE VESALE	1514
2	VERHEYEN	1648
3	VAN HELMONT	1577
4	V. D. SPIEGHEL	1578
5	PALFYN	1650
6*	N. JOS. REGA	1690
7	R. DODONEE	1518



The bust of Vesalius, in profile, to left—as before, the topmost of the group—is more successful in its adaptation from the Woodcut in the *Fabrica*; but the form given to the nose, and the shortening of the feature, debar a perfect likeness. Although the *Rev.* of this fine medal resembles the last (No. 11) it is not an exact reproduction, but a copy of it, departing from it in certain details.

It is known as the *Médaille de l'Installation de l'Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique*. In some examples the central circle is left blank for the inscription of a name. The dies are in the Museum of the Hôtel des Monnaies at Brussels. (*See* the Catalogue of Punches and Dies in the Museum, by Alph. de Witte, Nos. 47 and 48, p. 204.)

According to Guioth, this medal “was ordered by the Government and is now [1851] awarded as a prize by the Royal Academy of Medicine. It was struck on the 12th of May, 1846.” (Guioth: I, p. 101.) It still remains the prize-medal and is from time to time struck at the Brussels Mint on the demand of the Academy.

[Guioth, I, Pl. L, 322;—Victor Tourneur, No. 548, p. 161.
Kluyskens and Rudolphus do not give this medal.]

*The curious error in Rega's initial (N for H=Henri) appears neither in the 40 mill. medal, nor in the Seal of the Académie.

13.

JOUVENEL, ADOLPHE BAPTISTE.

70 Mill. SEAL OF THE ACADEMIE ROYALE DE MÉDECINE DE BELGIQUE. No medals have been struck; there only exist one or two proofs struck in lead, one of which is in the present writer's possession: it was said to be unique. Another was cast in iron.

OBV.—Within a laurel wreath, without ribbon, as in the *Rev.* of Nos. 11 and 12, the seven medallions of celebrated Doctors of Medicine arranged as before. [See *supra*.]

The medallion of Vesalius, in profile to left, 18 mill. in diameter, is inscribed (as in No. 11): AND. VESALE 1514

Legend, within the rim: ACADEMIE ROYALE DE MÉDECINE DE BELGIQUE

Below the medallion of Dodonée (No. 7): JOUVENEL F

NO REV.

In the centre a Louis-Quinze *cartonche*, not quite circular, with the royal arms: a crowned shield bearing the Lion of Belgium, a *banderolle* floating at the sides, and the motto: L'UNION LA FORCE. The missing word FAIT is supposed to be masked by the lower part of the shield.

See Kluyskens: *Numismatique Vésalienne*, No. 15; and

J. L. Guioth: *Histoire Numismatique . . . de la Révolution Belge*, Vol. IV, No. 323, p. 321.

It is obvious that neither of these authorities had ever seen the Seal itself. The latter writer reproduces a lead impression of No. 10, surrounded by a metal ring—which increases the diameter to 73 mill.—as being the Seal of the Academy. The piece which came into my possession is an earlier proof struck in lead; it has the shield, but still lacks the lion, the *banderolle*, the national motto, and the artist's signature. The copy of the Seal which was cast in iron belonged in 1919 to M. Ch. Dupriez of Brussels.

14.

WIENER, LÉOPOLD (1823-1891) and WIENER, JACQUES (1815-1899. Belgian School).

30 Mill. AR. and Æ. Struck. 1847.

(*Jeton de présence* of the Conseil Communal de Bruxelles.)

OBV.—Arms of the City of Brussels: On a shield, surmounted by a ducal crown, St. Michael slaying the Demon.*

Legend: JETON DE PRÉSENCE.

Below: S.P.Q.B.

The *Obv.* is by Jacques Wiener.

REV.—This *Rev.* is the *Obv.* of the Medal by Léopold Wiener (No. 15, next described), representing a front view of the statue of Vesalius on its plinth—only the upper part of which is shown—as it exists in Brussels to-day, in the Place des Barricades.

Legend: STATUE D'ANDRÉ VÉSALE INAUGURÉE LE 31 DEC: 1847

Below, at left of plinth: L. WIENER and at right D'AP J. GEEFS. (This statue by Joseph Geefs here referred to is described in the section "SCULPTURE.")

The *Jeton* was struck to commemorate the inauguration of the Statue of Vesalius in Brussels. It was the first of its kind which was commissioned by the Conseil Communal de Bruxelles on the recommendation of Jacques Wiener, who advised that the Conseil should thenceforward celebrate annually in this manner "an interesting event in the history of the City," so that the series should become historical documents valuable from the point of view of public instruction, of civic dignity, and of communal homage to the great men of Brussels.

See: J. L. Guioth: I, pl. xxxvi, 144; and p. 204.

Alph. de Witte: *Catalogue*, Nos. 268 & 269, p. 232.

Bouhy: *Jacques Wiener, graveur en médailles, et son œuvre*, Bruxelles, 1883; No. 182, p. 118; pp. 118 & 142; No. 231 p. 143.

Fr. Alvin: *Léopold Wiener*, 1892, No. 17.

[Kluyskens does not mention this piece;—Rudolphus, No. 7.]

* Not a "Dragon," as Kluyskens, and, copying him, Bouhy, incorrectly state.



13



14



14



15



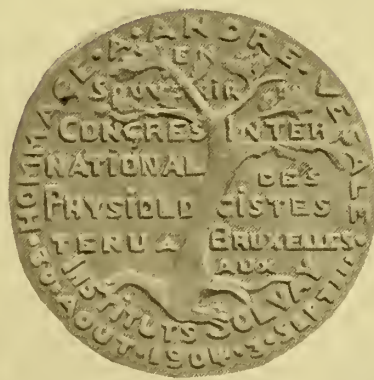
16



17



17



16

13. JOUVENEL (*Obv.*, no *Rev.*) 1841 and 184614. JACQUES WIENER (*Obv.*) 1847 14. LÉOPOLD WIENER (*Rev.-Obv.*) 1847 15. LÉOPOLD WIENER (*Rev.*) 184716. VAN DER STAPPEN (*Obv.*) 190417. BONNETAIN (*Obv.-Rev.*) 184716. VAN DER STAPPEN (*Rev.*) 1904



15.

WIENER, LÉOPOLD (1823-1891. Belgian School).

30 Mill. AR. and Æ. Struck. 1847.

OBV.—Similar to the *Rev.* of the *Jeton* just described (No. 14).

REV.—*Legend*: SOUS LE RÈGNE | DE LÉOPOLD I | ROI DES BELGES. | — | LE
GOUVERNEMENT | LA PROVINCE DE BRABANT | LA VILLE DE
BRUXELLES | ET | LE CORPS MÉDICAL | BELGE.

This piece, which was struck on both thin and thick blanks, was produced on the occasion of the inauguration of the statue by Joseph Geefs of Vesalius, and was presented by the artist to the Committee. The portrait of the Anatomist, microscopically small though it is, is quite recognizable, and reminds the spectator of the so-called portrait of Vesalius by Titian in the Pitti Palace, by which Geefs allowed himself to be influenced. According to Guioth, this medal is pretty rare. It is very well engraved and struck. The punches and dies of both *Obv.* and *Rev.* are in the Museum of the Hôtel des Monnaies at Brussels. M. Victor Bouhy, in his monograph of Jacques Wiener, erroneously attributes the medal to him, the elder brother and frequent collaborator of Léopold (No. 182, p. 118); the error doubtless arises from the accidental mis-strike in some impressions of the initial "L," which accordingly appears as "I".

See: J. L. Guioth: *Hist. Numism. de la Belgique*, I, pl. xxxvi,
No. 147, and p. 211

Alph. de Witte: *Catalogue*, No. 2, p. 251

Victor Tournour: *Catalogue*, No. 772, p. 241

F. Alvin: *Léopold Wiener, Graveur en Médailles, et son Œuvre*,
1892. No. 16, p. 18.

[Kluyskens, No. 10.—Rudolphus, No. 6.]

16.

ANONYMOUS.

Æ. Struck. 1847.

OBV.—

Legend: ANDREAE VESALIO SCIENTIAE ANATOMICAE PARENTI. — NATUS
BRUXELLIS, 31 DEC. 1514. NAUFRAGUS IN ZACYNTHO. OBIIT 30 OCT.
ANNO 1564

REV.—

Legend: AUSPICIIS LEOPOLDI PRIMI + + BELGARUM REGIS, ET PUBLICO NEC
NON PROVINCIAE ET MUNICIPII AERARIS DE PROMPTA IN SUMPTUM
PECUNIA UT ET EX PRIVAT. UNIV. MEDIC. BELG. ORDIN. COLLATIONE
ERECTUM HOC MONUMENTUM ET DICATUM 31 DEC. 1847.

This *jeton* was struck to celebrate the inauguration of the statue of Vesalius by Joseph Geefs. It is now so rare that I have been unable to find an example of it, nor have I, nor have any of the authorities or experts I have consulted, ever met with it outside of Kluyskens's and Rudolphus's records. Probably no one cared to possess it or to preserve it. It is therefore impossible to reproduce it here ; but the loss is small, as both faces of the little piece are occupied wholly by the inscriptions.

17.

VAN DER STAPPEN, CHARLES H. (1843-1910. Belgian School.)

50 Mill. AR. and Æ.

1904.

OBV.—Bust, in profile, to left.

Legend : ANDREAS · VESALIUS · · OCYUS JUCUNDE ET TUTO ·

Behind the head, on the field : C.H.V.D. STAPPEN

REV.—On the field of the medal, an oak-tree—roots, trunk, branches, and foliage—across which appears the

Legend : EN | SOUVENIR DU | CONGRES INTER | NATIONAL DES PHYSIOLOGISTES |
TENU A BRUXELLES | AUX | INSTITUTS SOLVAY

Around : HOMMAGE · A · ANDRE · VESALE · 30 · AOUT · 1904 · 3 · SEPT^{BRE}.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the legend on the *Obv.* is the motto engraved on the Woodcut portrait of Vesalius in the *Fabrica* (1543 and 1555) and in the *Epitome* (1543).

The piece, although struck, has been given the aspect of a cast medal by the distinguished artist, showing perhaps more skill than taste in this respect. The relief is unusually high. The resemblance so slight that it is scarcely possible to recognize it as Vesalius. It gives the portrait of a powerful, poetic, hypochondriacal man, with hollow cheeks. It is very modern in style and is obviously the work not of a medallist but of a sculptor—it is a *relievo* rather than a medal in the true sense of the word.

Thirty-one of these medals were struck in silver, three hundred and twenty-one in bronze and one in *vermeil* (silver gilt).

See : *Médailles Historiques de Belgique*. Tome II, pl. X, 4, 100.

18.

BONNETAIN, ARMAND. (1883; living artist. Belgian School.)

29 Mill; with ring for suspension. AV., Vermeil, AR., and Æ.

Struck.

1914.

OBV.—Head of Vesalius; in profile, to the left.

Legend, around rim: ·ANDRÉ· ·VÉSALE· . Above the head:
·1514; below the head: ·1564· On the truncation,
signed: BONNETAIN

REV.—An allegorical composition—a vase, with two serpents rampant as supporters—surmounted by a crowing cock.

Legend: FÉDÉRATION ·MÉDICALE· BELGE ∟

On exergue: ·1864 · 1914 ·

This medal (or *breloque*), of which about three hundred pieces were struck in June, 1914, on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the "Fédération Médicale de Belgique," has realized very happily the portrait in the *Fabrica*: the most successful of all the medals in this respect. As regards both resemblance and artistic aspect the piece is a remarkable achievement.

ICONOGRAPHIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THE Bibliography of the Iconography of Vesalius which is here presented is doubtless not complete: later Italian and Spanish items are not included; but it will be found to comprise almost everything likely to be of interest to the student of the subject. It embraces:—

1. Books, treatises, and pamphlets which, dealing with the life of Vesalius, or with the history of anatomy and the allied sciences, contain a portrait or portraits of the Master—excepting only the works of Vesalius himself: these are treated of elsewhere.
2. Books, “albums,” and “galleries,” as well as pamphlets, which deal with the portraits of Vesalius from the iconographic point of view: portraits for the most part engraved, but paintings as well, sculpture, and medals.

With regard to painted portraits and subject-pictures, I have considered it unnecessary to direct the reader to the respective catalogues of museums, public galleries, or private collections: such references will be found in the sections of “PAINTED PORTRAITS,” and “PICTURES,” *passim*.

I. ENGRAVINGS, PICTURES, AND SCULPTURE.

- 1565-1566. PANTALEON, Dr. Heinrich.—Prosopographiæ Heroum atque Illustrium Virorum Totius Germaniæ, Pars Tertia, Ea'que Primaria, etc., etc. Basilæ in Officina Hæredum Nicolai Brylingerii, Anno 1566.
[The first two volumes bear the date 1565. Vesalius, p. 271.]
(1570).—The German edition, with 6 portraits, is dated 1570. Vesalius, p. 272.
1572. GALLE, Philipp.—Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium Effigies XIII a Philippo Galleo. Antverpiæ, 1572.
[Small 8vo, no text. Moehsen, and, following him, Stirling-Maxwell, describe it as a quarto.
(1595).—And at Antwerp, 1595.]
1574. SAMBUCUS, Johan.—Veterum aliquot ac recentium Medicorum Philosophorumque icones ex bibl. Jo. Sambuci. Antw., 1574.
[Small 8vo, with 67 portraits.]
1615. SAMBUCUS, J.—Veterum aliquot et recentium Medicorum Philosophorumque Icones cum elogiis. (Amsterdam, 1615.)

1587. REUSNER, Nicolaus (Christoph).—*Icones, sive Imagines virorum Literis illustrivm . . . Recesente Nicolao Revsnero ic Curante Bernardo Jobino. Privilegio Casario. Argentorati. M.D.XIHC.*
[i.e., Strassburg, 1587. With 100 portraits, 99 in the Index. An edition, same date, 12mo, with 44 portraits.]
 (1590).—Professor Roth gives the date of this book as 1590; that is the second edition with 82 portraits.
1587. REUSNER, Nicolaus (Christoph).—*Contrafacturbuch. Ware vnd Lebendiger Bildnussen etlicher weitberhümter vnnnd Hochgelehrten Männer in Teutschland. Strassburg, B. Jobin. 1587. In 8 vols.*
[With 103 portraits on wood. This book is the German edition of the "Icones," Latin edition, published a few months before. Andressen III, No. 141, Ebert, No. 18989; and see D. Kestner: Medizinisches Gelerhten Lexicon, 1740, and: Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon, 1750.
 Prof. Roth adopts the error in the text (but not in the index) of Moehsen, who gives the date as 1581. It was on the invitation of Bernhard Jovinus, the Strassburg printer, that the learned Nicolaus Reusner wrote most if not all of the descriptive and eulogistic verses attached to the portraits.]
See Petro Opmeero, 1611, infra.
- 1597-1599. BOISSARD, J. J.—(1) *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustrium. Jan Jac. Boissardo Vesunti—per Th. de Bry Leodiencivem francofurti. Anno MDCXCVII. (4to.)*
 (2) *Iconum viros virtute atque eruditione illustres representantium. Theodorij de Bry Leod. Franfordii at Moenū. Anno MDCXCIX.*
[In 4 parts; the last volume dated 1599. Prof. Roth and Stirling-Maxwell attribute it to 1598. See p. 314: Boissardus Vesunti = "of Besançon."]
1642. BOISSARDUS, J. Jac.—*Bibliotheca illustrium virorum. J. Theodor de Bry, Francof. 1642. (9 parts, 4to.)*
1645. BOISSARD, J. J.—*Icones & Effigies Virorum Doctorum à Ioh. Theodoro de Brij P.M. . . . Edite Per Ianum Iacob. Boissardum Francofurti, Impensis Iohannis Ammonij Bibl. Anno 1645.*
1669. BOISSARD, J. J. *Bibliotheca Chalcographica . . . Collectore Jano. Jacobo Boissardo, Vesunt. Sculptore Theodore de Bry, Leod. Heidelbergæ . . . Anno M.DC.LXIX.*
1608. MIRÆUS, Aubertus.—*Ilvstrivm Galliæ Belgicæ Scriptorvm Icones & Elogiæ Canonici Antuerp . . . Antverpiæ Apud Theod. Gallaum. 1608. (Fo.).*
1609. MIRÆUS, Aubertus.—*Elogia Belgica sive illustrorum Belgii scriptorum . . . vite Breviter commemoratæ studio AUBERTI MIRÆ I BRUXELLENSIS, canonici et bibliothecarii Antuerp. Antvererpiæ [sic] apud Davidem Martinium, cio ioc ix [cf. Andreas Valerius.]*
1611. OPMEERO, Petro. — *Opus chronographicum orbis universum, auto-Hieronymi Verdusii, 1911, of de fraaie houtsnede uit Icones Sive imagines . . . in 1590 door Nicolaes Reusner in het licht gegeven.*

1612. ANDREAS VALERIUS DESSELIUS.—*Imagines Doctorum Virorum e variis gentibus, elogijs breuib; illustratae* Valerius Andreas Desselius Brabantus publicabat Antverpiae apud Davidem Martinum Anno cto. io c xii.
 [Sm. 4to. Moehsen catalogues this author under the name of Desselius after the place of his birth. In the bibliographies of Moehsen and Prof. Roth, the date is given as 1611; the copy which I consulted in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels bears the date 1612. See Miræus: *Il y a aussi une édition in-12mo.*"]
1643. ANDREAS VALERIUS DESSELIUS.—*Bibliotheca Belgica, Editio renovata* Lovan 1643.
 [According to Moehsen, Andreas Valerius Desselius published the *Bibliotheca Belgica* without illustrations.]
1640. IMPERIALIS, Joannis.—*Mvsævm Historicum et Physicvm. In Primo Illustrium literis uirorū imagines ad uium expressū continentur. Additijs Elogijs Eorundum uitas, et mores notantibus. In Secundo animorum imagines, sine Ingeniorum naturū, differentiū, causū, ac signa physicè perpendantur. Adeo Vt Artjs Exactissimū loco possit esse, dignoscendū ad quam quisq; artem ac scientiam sit habilis. Venetijs apud Juntas. An. MDCXL. (P. 54.—4to.)*
1640. IMPERIALIS, Joan.—*Museum Historicum quo illustrium litteris virorum elogiæ . . . continentur. Recusa ad edit. quæ lucem vidit Venetijs . . . 1640 (4to.)*
1676. HELVETIUS, Joannis Fridiricus [*i.e.* Dr. Johann Friedrich Schweitzer].—*Microscopium, Id est, Tractatus de Physiognomia . . . Authore, Joanne Fridirico Helvetio, Anhaltino Colthonensi, Doctore Medicinæ Apud Janssonis—Waesbergios, Anno cto 1661.* (12mo, pp. 143-145).
 [See also by the same author: 1660; *Amphitheatrum physiognomiae medicum: runder Schauplatz der arzneymässigen Gesichtskunst, Heidelberg, 1660 (8vo—title dated 1661); and (2) Same work, Dutch edition " . . . door J. B. Notaris. 's Gravenhage, I. van Dyck, 1664."*]
1682. BULLART, Isaac.—*Académie des Sciences et des Arts, contenant les vies et les Eloges Historiques des Hommes illustres, qui ont excellé en ses Professions depuis environ quatre siècles parmy diverses Nations de l'Europe: avec leurs portraits tirez sur des Originaux au Naturel, et plusieurs Inscriptions funèbres exactement recueillies de leurs Tombeaux. Paris. M.DC.LXXXII. Par Isaac Bullart, chevalier de l'ordre de Saint-Michel.*
 [Moehsen gives the original date as 1611. This work is in two volumes, sm. 8vo. According to Moehsen, one is in 4to. Edition at Brussels, same date: "A Bruxelles, se vendent chez François Foppens, au Saint Esprit, 1682," p. 86. M. Van Bastelaer informs me as follows: "It should be observed that Bullart was published at the same time at Brussels, Paris, and Amsterdam, and that the Brussels edition issued by F. Foppens [*see later*] is the true one; of each of the others only a small number were worked off, with title-pages appropriate to his correspondent - agents and their publishing - houses. The Brussels edition is a small 8vo; so, evidently, the Paris edition must also be, seeing that it is the same printing." The portrait of Vesalius is in the second volume.]

1688. FREHER, Paul.—Pauli Freheri Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum ; Noribergue, Impensis Joh. Hoffmanni, 1688. (Folio.)
 [Each sheet contains 16 small portraits engraved in line ; eighty-two sheets give a total of 1312 portraits. The portrait of Vesalius is on Plate 56.]
1739. FOPPENS (Jo.) Franciscus.—Bibliotheca Belgica sive Virorum in Belgico vitâ, scriptisque illustrium, Catalogus . . . cura & studio JOANNIS FRANCISCI FOPPENS, Bruxellensis, &c. Bruxellis, Per Petrum Foppens, Typographum et Bibliopolam, M.D.CC.XXXIX. (2 vols. 4to.)
 [In this work Foppens published not only his own plates engraved for it ; he admits having placed Miraeus and Bullart under contribution : "Et Academiæ scientiarum Isaaco Bullart evulgatae." This book is not to be confounded with the "Bibliotheca Belgica" of Andreas Valerius, or—it is hardly necessary to add—with the well-known work issued under the same title by the bibliographer Vanderbagen, who died in 1911. The latter book contains no portrait of Vesalius.]
1771. MOEHNEN, J. C. W.—Verzeichnis einer Sammlung von Bildnissen grössten-theils berühmter Aertze . . . Berlin, 1771 (p. 80).
 [Moehsen, who seems to have been a not very accurate observer, gives a list of 16 portraits, together with a number of works in which portraits of Vesalius are to be found ; but his catalogue comprises sometimes different editions of the same work, and sometimes different works in which the same portrait appeared. The known engravers of whom he speaks (apart from the portrait of the *Fabrica* and the *Epitome*, which he boldly attributes to Titian in accordance with the general belief in his day : "*Titianus Vecelli del. Jo. a Calcar incidit*"), are Galle, Stinmer (*i.e.* Maurer), de Bry, de Boulonois, and Salmincio.]
- 1781-1803. LAVATER, J. C.—French edition ; published at the Hague. (*See* English editions, following).
1789. LAVATER, J. C.—Essays on Physiognomy ; for the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind. Written in the German Language by J. C. Lavater, and translated into English by Thomas Holcroft. Illustrated by 360 engravings. London . . . 1789.
 [This edition, in 3 vols., is a translation of the work in German, as abridged by J. M. Armbruster, and revised by the author himself in 1786. The second edition, in 4 vols., appeared in 1804, and a third, further abridged, in 1844. A portrait of Vesalius, with an enthusiastic article on him, appears in each.]
1792. LAVATER, J. C.—Essays on Physiognomy designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind, by John Caspari Lavater, Citizen of Zurich, . . . Translated from the French by Henry Hunter, D.D., etc. London, MDCCXCII.
 [This edition, in 4 vols., contains more than 800 engravings by, or executed under, the supervision of, Thomas Holloway. Vesalius appears in the second volume, p. 165. It is a curious fact that the original edition in German (1775-1778) does not contain this portrait. In the French edition (1781-1803) it is to be found, but not quite so well rendered by Moritz Steinla (*i.e.* Müller).]

1783. LEVELING, Heinrich Palmaz.—Anatomische Erklärung der Original-Figuren von Andreas Vesal, samt einer Anwendung der Winslowischen Zergliederungslehre in sieben Büchern. Ingolstadt. Anton Attenkhauer. 1783. (Folio.)
[With re-impressions of the *original* Woodcuts in the *Fabrica*.]
- 1832-1834. BRULLIOT, Fr.—Dictionnaire des Monogrammes, Marques Figurées, etc. Munich, 1832-1834. (4to.)
- 1833 (-4) *Société Montyou et Franklin*.—Portraits et Histoire des Hommes utiles —1836. . . . Paris, 1836 (and 1883-1884).
[With a memoir on Vesalius by P. J. Manec.]
- 1835, etc. NAGLER, Dr. G. K.—Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon oder Nachrichten, etc. München, 1835-1852. (8vo.)
- 1838-1840. PETTIGREW, Dr. T. J. (F.R.S., F.S.A.).—Medical Portrait Gallery . . . London, 1840. (4 volumes, 4to.)
[The portrait of Vesalius is contained in the second volume, Plate 151.]
1841. BURGGRAEVE, Ad.—Études sur André Vésale. Gand, 1841. (8vo.)
1845. *Les Belges Illustres (Panthéon National)* 3^e partie.
[Vesalius represented, on p. 45, full-length, to the right; signed: *Schaepekens*.]
1845. Album Biographique des Belges célèbres, etc. . . . Vésale, Bruxelles.
[Published separately also in pamphlet form (4to). The memoir was written by Dr. *J. de Merseman*. The separate numbers were re-published in two volumes by Chabannes: they comprise 112 engravings on copper and steel.]
1846. BURGGRAEVE, Ad.—Éloge de Vésale: Mémoire de l'Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique, 1846.
1847. *La Renaissance Belge*.
Journal littéraire et artistique illustré.
[Published from 1839 to 1854. The illustrated essay on Vesalius appears in Vol. IX, folio XXI, p. 161.]
- 1847-1848. *La Belgique Communale*.
1852. CHOULANT, Ludwig.—Geschichte und Bibliographie der Anatomischen Abbildung. Leipzig, 1852.
[Vesalius is dealt with, pp. 43 to 58.]
1853. MORLEY, Henry.—Anatomy in Long Clothes. See *infra*. 1915.
1854. ALVIN, Frédéric.—Notice Biographique sur le peintre bruxellois Henri De Caisne. Bruxelles, 1854.
1857. PIESSE, L.—La Médecine et les Médecins, 1857. Vol. II, p. 232 *et seq.*
- 1858-1881. NAGLER, Dr. G. K.—Die Monogrammisten, etc. München, 1851-1881.

1870. *Description des Peintures exécutées par M. E. Slingencyer, dans la grande salle du Palais ducal, de Bruxelles.* Bruxelles, 1870.
1874. STIRLING-MAXWELL, Sir William.—*Andrae Vesalii Tabvlar Anatomiae Sex.* Six Anatomical Tables of Andrew Vesalius. London: Privately printed for Sir William Stirling-Maxwell. (Large 8vo.)
1877. TURNER, Dr. E.—*Gazette Hebdomadaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie*, 1877 (p. 474).
1877. HYMANS, Henry.—*Idem.* Réponse au docteur E. Turner. Le 13 juillet, 1877.
1881. HAESER, H.—*Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin und der Epidemischen Krankheiten von Heinrich Haeser.* Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1881. 3 vols.
 [In this remarkable work, which Professor William Wright (Dean and Professor of Anatomy at the London Hospital Medical College) describes as "in my opinion, one of the *great* books of the world," the author deals summarily with the portrait of Vesalius, as already stated, but devotes considerable attention to the Title-page. He maintains the attribution to Calcar.]
- 1882-1889. HYMANS, Louis.—*Bruxelles à travers les âges, dédié . . . à Son Altesse Royale Mgr. le Prince Baudouin, par Louis Hymans.* Bruxelles. (1882-9). Bruylant-Christophe et Cie, éditeurs.
1883. HYMANS, Henry.—*L'Art*, Paris, 1883. Pp. 64 *et seq.*
1892. ROTH, Prof. M.—*Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis.* Berlin 1892. (Large 8vo).
 [Roth was Professor at the University of Bâle. His work, encyclopædic though it is, and a pattern—as he himself claimed it to be—for all medical biographies, deals with only the *Fabrica* portraits, and the paintings at the University of Glasgow; the Royal College of Physicians, of London; the British Museum; the Académie de Médecine, and the Louvre, both of Paris; Bâle; Munich Gallery; Vienna Gallery; Ambras Collection; Padua; Florence (Pitti Gallery); and the Morgagni Collection; and what he says in his three pages of text is lacking alike in information and value.]
1897. WAUTERS, Alphonse.—*Quelque mots sur André Vésale, ses ascendants, etc.* Académie royale de Belgique. Bruxelles, 1897. (8vo.)
1902. STIRLING, Prof. W.—*Some Apostles of Physiology.* Privately printed 1902.
 [Professor Stirling, M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., of the University of Manchester.]
1903. HEGER, Prof. Dr. Paul.—*Notes sur André Vésale.* Bruxelles, 1903. Reprinted from *La Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles.* (8vo).
 [Professor Heger, M.D., Hon. LL.D., hon. retired President of the University of Brussels, and the inspirer of this present volume.]

1905. DANIELS, Dr. C. E.—André Vésale.
[Published in *L'Art Flamand et Hollandais* and in the Dutch edition, *Onze Kunst*, July 1905. Re-issued separately by Dr. Daniels in the same year.]
1910. BALL, Dr. James Moores.—Andreas Vesalius the Reformer of Anatomy. By James Moores Ball, M.D., St. Louis Medical Science Press, MDCCLXX. (4to.)
[An excellent summary of the Life and Work of Vesalius and his fore-runners and contemporaries.]
1911. VON LEERSUM, Dr.—In *Janus*, XVI, p. 313.
[A discussion of the book of Dr. James Moores Ball (see last item), especially of the portrait engraved by Troyen, presented by Dr. Moores Ball as a likeness of Vesalius.]
1913. KLEBS, Dr. Arnold C. — Die Lemgoer Ratsapotheke : Historische Reiseskizze. Leipzig, 1913.
[Reprinted from "Die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik," 5. Bd. It records the discovery of the important early sculptured portrait of Vesalius.]
1914. DE LINT, J. G.—Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling over oude anatomie, te houden te Leiden, Januari 1915, ter gelegenheid van de Herenking van den Geboortedag van Andreas Vesalius, bewerkt door J. G. de Lint, met een Bijdrage van Prof. J. Boeke. (Gedrukt ter Stoombackdrukkereij vh. T. Horneer te Gorinchem, 1914.)
[This interesting catalogue sets forth the exhibits under the headings of the sections : Anatomy before Vesalius ; Portraits of Vesalius (comprising a group of engraved portraits and of five medals) ; Books on Anatomy and Surgery ; Portraits of the Contemporaries of Vesalius ; Books by and Portraits of those who immediately followed him ; of the Anatomists of the 17th Century, up to and including Van Bleuland. There are other sections which need not be mentioned here.]
1915. DE LINT, J. G.—Iets over de Portretten van Vesalius. Door J. G. De Lint. (2 Jan. 1915.) Amsterdam. P. N. Van Kampen & Zoon. 1915. (12 pp.)
[In this commemorative pamphlet the author deals summarily with a selection of the painted portraits, engravings, and pictures, and reproduces the portrait of the *Fabrica*, Dr. Daniels's painting in the Amsterdam Stedelik Museum, the Royal College of Physicians portrait, and the central group in the title-pages of the 1st and 2nd editions of the *Fabrica*, dwelling on the differences in the arrangement of instruments, etc., on the table, as well as on details throughout.]
- 1915 (1853). MORLEY, Henry.—Anatomy in Long Clothes. An Essay on Andreas Vesalius. Chicago. 1915.
["Of this book one hundred copies have been made, none of which are for sale. Privately printed for Dr. Mortimer Frank, by Toby Rubovits, Chicago, Illinois, MCMXV."
This essay was originally contributed to *Fraser's Magazine* by Henry Morley (afterwards Professor), November, 1853.]

1915. VETH, Jan.—Andreas Vesalius En De Kunst. Door Dr. Jan Veth. Amsterdam. P. N. Kampen & Zoon. 1915.
[The portrait is not reproduced.]
1923. CRUMMER, Dr. Leroy.—Early Anatomical Fugitive Sheets [c. 1590].—In *Annals of Medical History*. New York. Paul B. Hoerber. (Sept. 1923.) Edited by Francis R. Packard, M.D. (Vol. V, pp. 189 *et seq.*)
See also F. VANDERHAGEN : *Bibliotheca Belgica*.

I I. M E D A L S

1825. RUDOLPHUS, C. A.—Index Numismaticum. No. CCCXXXII—496.
[On pp. 123 and 124 the author discusses the medal by Binfield.]
1840. Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique : *Collections des Médailles de l'Empire Français et de l'Empereur Napoléon*. Paris 1840.
[Deals with the medals of Vesalius by Merlen.]
1857. GUIOTH, J. L.—Histoire Numismatique de la Belgique, faisant suite à l'histoire numismatique de la Révolution belge. Hasselt, 1851. 2 vols. 4to.
[Vol. 1, Pl. XXXVI, 177 ; L, 322. Vol. 2, XXII, 53.]
1859. KLUYSKENS, Hippolyte, C. L.—Des Hommes Célèbres dans les Sciences et dans les Arts et les Médailles qui consacrent leur souvenir. Gand, 1859. 2 vol. (vol. 2, pp. 272, 577, etc.).
KLUYSKENS, Hipp. C. L.—Numismatique Vésalienne.
[Reprinted from *La Revue de la Numismatique belge*, 5^e serie, t. VI.
The first volume of this review was published in 1841.]
1862. RUDOLPHUS, C. A.—Rencentionis ævi numismata virorum de rebus medecis et physicis meritorum memorium servantia, denuo edibit, emendavit et auxit Carol. Ludov. De Duisberg, Dr. med. et chirurg. Regi a Consil. Sanit. Societ. Nat. Curios. Dantisc. et Regiomont Membrum. Dantisca, 1862 (p. 175, No. 474, § 1).
1883. BOUHY, Victor.—Jacques Wiener, graveur en médailles et son œuvre. Bruxelles, 1883.
1892. ALVIN, Frédéric.—Léopold Wiener, graveur en médailles et son œuvre. Bruxelles, 1892.
1900. VAN DEN BROECK, Ed.—Jetons de présence de la Société de Médecine de Bruxelles. Messidor an XII. Numismatique Bruxelloise. Bruxelles, 1900.
[This pamphlet, re-printed from *la Revue Belge de Numismatique*, deals particularly with Merlen's medals of Vesalius.]

- 1902 *et seq.* FORRER, L.—Biographical Dictionary of Medallists, etc. London. 1902-1923, *et seq.*
1911. TOURNEUR, Victor.—Catalogue des Médailles du Royaume de Belgique ; tome I. (Ministère des Sciences et des Arts, Bibliothèque royale, Cabinet des Médailles). Bruxelles, 1911.
1912. DE WITTE, Alph.—Catalogue des Poinçons et Matrices du Musée de l'Hôtel des Monnaies de Bruxelles. Bruxelles, 1912.
1916. ALVIN, Fréd.—Les Portraits en Médailles des Célébrités de la Belgique. Bruxelles, 1916.

LIST OF ARTISTS

whose names or initials are known.

PAINTERS

Board, E.	Hamman, E. J. C.	Ongheua, Ch.
Calcar, J. S. van	Mor, Antonis	Slingeneuer, E.
De Caisne, H.	Moroni	Tintoretto
Devaux, E.		Titian

ENGRAVERS

Billoin, Ch.	Guyot, E.	S., F.
Bocourt, E.	Heath, J.	Salmincio, A.
Brown, W.	Holl, W.	Schubert, J.
Christoforo, Coriolano	Holloway, T.	Steinla, M.
D., V.	Kraus	Stimmer, J. C.
De Boulonois, E.	Lentze, F.	Troyen, J. van
De Bry, I. (or T.)	Maurer, C.	Tuerlinck, L.
De Loose	Milster	Valegio, F.
Demannez	Mouilleron, A.	Vanderhaert
Des Hauvents, J. H. W.	N.	Vercruys, T.
Engelmann, G.	Nilson, J. E.	Vosterman, J. (Jr.)
Ferdinand	Numans, A.	Wandelaar, J.
Galle, P.	Ôgier, M.	Wiesener, F.
Gaultier, L.	Ongheua, Ch.	Wenk, G.
	Paradisi, L.	

DRAUGHTSMEN

Bey, H.	Lauters, S.	Schaepkens
Calcar, J. S. van	Moraine, de, R.	Vigneron
Kraus, G. M.		Werreyd, P.

[Draughtsmen-engravers are included among the ENGRAVERS.]

SCULPTORS

Geefs, J.	Godecharle, G. L.	Tinant, L.
	Picault, E.	

MEDALLISTS

Binfield, W.	Lefevre	Simon, J. H.
Bonnetain, A.	Mercandetti, T.	Van der Stappen, Ch.
Jouvenel, A. B.	Merlen, J. B.	Wiener, J.
Le Boulonois		Wiener, L.



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LONDON :
JOHN BALE, SONS AND DANIELSSON, LTD.
83-91, GREAT TITCHFIELD STREET
OXFORD STREET, W. 1.







